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ABSTRACT

This book examines tribally controlled Indian colleges established since the early 1960s and provides perspectives on their educational philosophy, history, and present status. Chapter 1 is an overview of four centuries of abortive efforts by churches and the federal government to provide higher education for American Indians, including profiles of specific missionary schools, factors in the failure of missionary education, the unusual success of Choctaw Academy, features of Carlisle Indian School and other federally funded off-reservation boarding schools, and the effects on Indian higher education of the General Allotment Act of 1887 and termination policies of the 1950s. Chapter 2 discusses the birth of tribally controlled community colleges amidst the social activism of the 1960s, and presents profiles of 19 such institutions. Chapter 3 summarizes and analyzes information on the tribally controlled colleges: student characteristics, enrollments, faculty, administrators, physical facilities, student services, college objectives, external influences, funding, and accreditation. Chapter 4 outlines other higher education opportunities for American Indians and Alaska Natives: federally controlled two-year colleges, special programs for the preparation of Indian professionals, colleges or universities with high Native American enrollments and degrees earned, and Indian Studies programs. Chapter 5 summarizes the history and current status of Indian higher education. This book contains approximately 300 references and an index. (SV)

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THE TRIBALLY CONTROLLED INDIAN COLLEGE

The Beginnings of Self Determination in American Indian Educati

NORMAN T. OPPELT

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The Tribally Controlled Indian Colleges

The Tribally Controlled Indian Colleges: The Beginnings of Self Determination In American Indian Education

Norman T. Oppelt

Navajo Community College Press
Tsaile, Arizona
1990

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Many administrators and faculty of the colleges included in this study have graciously given me the information needed on my visits to their schools and telephone calls to them. The members of the Diné Indian Club at the University of Northern Colorado provided me valuable insight into the problems of the Indian student in a white dominated institution.

Ms. Anna Walters of the Navajo Community College Press is thanked for seeing the value of this book and her sensitive editing of the manuscript.

This book is dedicated to my wife, Pat, who accompanied me on my travels to the tribal colleges throughout the western United States. She is the only one who understands and appreciates my commitment to improving higher education of American Indians. Without her love and support this book would not have been written.

PREFACE

Since the Europeans first arrived in North America, they have made efforts to provide schooling for some of the people they mistakenly called "Indians." With very few exceptions the schools and programs for Indians have been planned and controlled by non-Indians. Therefore they are most accurately termed education *for* Indians rather than Indian education. The early missionaries designed education for Indians to convert and civilize the native peoples, and the later schools operated by the federal government were planned to pacify and assimilate the Indians into the dominant culture. Most of these efforts met with failure because they were planned by whites to meet their goals and not to meet the needs of the Indians. A few early colleges were founded to provide higher education for selected Indians, but the curriculum was useless to more traditional Indians and they were so resistant to cultural change that these schools were doomed to failure. Chapter 1 is an overview of the abortive church and federal government efforts to provide higher education for American Indians.

In the late 1960s and 1970s American Indians were, for the first time in their long contact with whites, able to have a significant voice in the planning and control of some of their institutions of higher education. The establishment of the new tribally controlled colleges located on, or near, western reservations began an exciting era in Indian higher education. More has been accomplished in the two decades since the founding of the first tribal college to meet the higher education needs of the tribes and their members than in the two hundred years since the first Indian graduated from Harvard University. No longer must all tribal people who seek a higher education attend a white dominated institution where they may be treated as a foreigner in their own land. Most Americans, including many Indians, are unaware of the existence and significance of the tribally controlled colleges. This book is the story of the development of these unique schools and what they have accomplished in the higher education of American Indians.

The term "Indian" is unacceptable to, and is even seen as derogatory by some descendents of the original Americans. Some prefer to be called Native Americans, a term that became particularly popular among some Indian activists in the 1960s. The term Native American can be misleading because it is interpreted by some people as meaning anyone born in North America, regardless of the origin of their ancestors. In spite of its geographic inaccuracy, some descendents of the first Americans still prefer the commonly used *Indian*. Because there is no one term preferred by all First Americans, the writer has chosen to use the word "Indian" when referring to descendents of the original inhabitants of America. Many prefer to be referred by their tribal name and are so designated in this book.

Many of these persons have been raised, and may continue to live, in a family or extended kingroup where traditional tribal beliefs and ways are practiced and passed from one generation to the next. The ability to speak the tribal language is the most

important single characteristic of tribal groups. Most tribal people have been raised on an Indian reservation or in an isolated Indian community. There are Indians living off reservations in the dominant society, where it is difficult to retain their tribal culture. Some contact with a critical mass of the tribal group is necessary to retain tribal ways.

There were 1,420,000 persons classified in the 1980 United States Census as Indians. This figure includes Indians who have been assimilated into all occupations and socioeconomic levels of American life. Many do not know the tribal affiliation of their forefathers and have little knowledge of tribal ways. The long term efforts of the churches and the United States government in assimilation and conversion have been successful with these persons or their ancestors.

The assimilated Indians are not the focus of this book because their educational needs are not significantly different from their non-Indian contemporaries. They may have special educational needs, but these are primarily the result of environmental factors other than their Indianess. More traditional Indians usually have cultural differences in language, beliefs, and behaviors that make progress in white controlled colleges slow and difficult. They are the ones who need and want schools planned and controlled by themselves. Considering that these groups are members of different tribes with diverse languages, values, religious beliefs, and behaviors, it may seem invalid to refer to them *in toto*. However, there are pan-Indian similarities which influence their attitudes toward and achievement in higher education. Unless otherwise indicated, the unmet higher education needs and the Indians who tribally controlled colleges are designed to serve are primarily those who maintain strong cultural ties to particular tribes. These Indians are trying to survive and succeed as bicultural persons and need the special programs, services, and environment of the tribally controlled colleges.

Higher education for American Indians in precontact times was provided by tribal societies for those persons needing special skills beyond the basic necessities for survival. Most evident were the medicine men or shamans who needed to know the often complicated and long chants, symbols, and paraphernalia for religious ceremonies. These special persons usually served long apprenticeships under an older religious leader. Their training was necessary because the survival of the tribe was seen as dependent upon the holy persons placating or communicating with the supernatural forces which controlled their lives including the weather, plants, and animals that provided food and shelter. This is somewhat analogous to a major purpose for the founding of early colonial colleges to prepare literate clergy to serve the colonists. In addition to religious leaders, a few other members of the tribe or band needed special skills and knowledge in areas of craftsmanship. Lacking written communication, all of these skills and knowledge were passed on orally and learned by observation and imitation. As is emphasized in this book, the traditional classical higher education of the early colonists had little value to Indians who could not read or write and were not assimilated into the European culture.

Little has been written about the history of education for Indians and almost nothing concerning their higher education. The major reason for the lack of information on Indian higher education is that, until recently, so few Indians attended college or were employed in higher education that there was little to report or discuss. This book is the first presentation of an overview of Indian higher education with a focus on the tribally controlled colleges.

The best of the few overviews of the history of Indian education is a doctoral dissertation by Martha E. Layman written at the University of Minnesota in 1942, which covers the period 1542 to 1942. Another useful source is Harold W. Morris' dissertation completed at Oregon State University in 1954. Other unpublished dissertations and theses covering shorter time periods or specific topics are cited throughout the text. The best general published source on recent Indian educatioin is Margaret C. Szasz' 1974 book entitled *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self Determination, 1928–1973*. The writer is indebted to Dr. Szasz for her advice and assistance. Another useful book is Evelyn C. Adams' book, *American Indian Education*, published in 1946. A report of the National Study of American Indian Education was published in 1972. This report, entitled *To Live on This Earth: American Indian Education*, provides an overview of the status and problems of Indian education in the late 1960s and 1970s. All of these sources focus on the elementary and secondary education of Indians giving little attention to their higher education.

The main primary written sources of the history of higher education for Indians utilized in this study were histories of colleges founded for Indians, reports of missionaries dedicated to Indian education, documents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other

federal agencies involved in Indian education, histories of Indian tribes, reports of regional and national studies of Indian education, magazine and newspaper articles, and papers and speeches presented at educational conferences.

In addition to the above sources, the recent history of Indian higher education, and the tribal colleges in particular, was obtained from the documents of the tribal colleges and reports of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. The written materials included enrollment reports, self studies, catalogs and bulletins, class schedules, brochures, and personal communications from administrators.

The writer found that the available written materials were inadequate to fully understand the recent development of tribally controlled colleges. Therefore, in the fall of 1982, he traveled to 12 tribal colleges in the Northern Plains, interviewing presidents, deans, faculty, and a few students at each school. These interviews were used to provide most of the information on the tribal colleges. The writer also drew on his experiences as a consultant to Navajo Community College in 1975. In 1983, telephone interviews were conducted with administrators of three of the tribal colleges not visited.

In the fall of 1988 there were 17 tribally controlled colleges in the United States. These schools, chartered by Indian tribes between 1968 and 1979, represent the beginning of self determination in American Indian higher education. This book has been written to inform Indians and non-Indians about the history, present status, strengths and weaknesses, and possible future of these unique institutions.

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Chapter 1

Historic Antecedents of Contemporary Indian Higher Education

Missionary Period

From the time Europeans first set foot on the North American continent they became concerned about saving the souls of the indigenous people they mistakenly called "Indians." In order to convert them to Christianity it was deemed necessary to teach at least some of them to read and write. An objective closely related to Christianization was to teach the Indians European modes of dress and behavior so they would look and act like "civilized" people.

The first school for American Indians was founded in 1568 in Havana, Cuba, for the schooling of Indians brought from Florida. This Catholic school was operated by the Jesuits, the religious order that operated most of the Indian schools in the Spanish colonies (Bearking, 1969). Other early Indian schools founded by missionaries of several Protestant denominations had similar objectives for conversion and civilization of the native people.

Few writers on the history of American higher education give adequate emphasis to the influence of missionary zeal on the establishment of America's earliest colleges. This section presents a brief overview of early efforts to provide schooling for Indians and the significance of this objective on the establishment of some of the first and most prestigious institutions of higher education in North America.

The best known missionary to the Indians in the seventeenth century was John Eliot, known as "apostle to the Indians." Eliot, a graduate of Cambridge University and minister of the First Church in Roxbury, Massachusetts, devoted most of his life to bringing Puritanism to the Indians of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Much of the financial support for his mission came from Puritans in England. Many colonists were not as enthusiastic about Eliot's efforts as were those Puritans across the Atlantic.

Eliot spent three years studying the Massachusetts Indian language in order to be able to bring the word of God to the local Indians. His first attempt to preach to the Indians in 1646, at Dorchester Mill was a failure, but later that year he preached to a group of Indians at Nonantum with more success (Jennings, 1976). Eliot's means for conversion of the Indians was the formation of villages of "praying Indians." The Indians in these villages were expected not only to accept Christianity but to live in all ways as civilized Englishmen. Eliot concentrated his effort on those native people whose culture had been weakened by dependence on the colonists and avoided the stronger, independent groups (Salisbury, 1974). Between 1649 and 1675 Eliot founded fourteen villages with a total population of 1,100 Indians. These numbers and Eliot's exaggerations of his accomplishments imply more success than was actually attained. As shown by later events, much of the Christianization and civilization claimed by Eliot for his praying Indians was only superficial commitments to gain support from the English.

One of Eliot's major accomplishments was translation of the Bible into the Natick dialect of the Massachusetts language. The Bible was printed on the press at the Indian College of Harvard. This Bible and several religious tracts by Eliot were the first publications in an American Indian language. This monumental task had less effect on conversion of the local Indians than he had hoped because so few of them learned to read, but it was of help to him in communicating the Gospel to them.

Continued expansion of English colonists into the lands of the New England tribes, in 1675, led to the conflict known as King Philip's War. Most of the Indians in the area, including some of those in Eliot's villages, joined in the attack on the colonists. Those "praying Indians" who remained neutral were rounded up and held prisoner on desolate Deer Island in Boston Harbor. A few of the men of this group were eventually allowed to serve as scouts for the English militia, making a major contribution to the English victory. During the war, most Englishmen did not distinguish between hostiles and praying Indians as their underlying fear and mistrust of all Indians surfaced. Unfortunately, the English defeat of the Indians resulted in the loss of freedom of not only the hostiles but also the neutral and friendly members of the local tribes. Those Indians who survived the war were sold into slavery or confined to several of the villages where they were almost totally dependent upon the colonists. Eliot had misrepresented the hostile intentions of most of the colonists which made his "praying Indians" poorly prepared to deal with the unChristian behavior of the land-hungry colonists. The lands of the Indians, both hostile and friends, were rapidly settled by the English (Salisbury, 1974).

Thus, Eliot's efforts to Christianize and civilize the local Indians must be judged a failure. He was one of the first of a long line of missionaries who, although well-meaning, failed in their efforts to convert and school the Indians. In fact he set an ineffective precedent for forced acculturation and control of Indians by confining them to white controlled communities later called reservations. For almost 200 years, Eliot's philosophy of missionary work with the Indians was the pattern for conversion and civilization of the native peoples of North America.

Concurrent with the missionary work of Eliot and other seventeenth century missionaries was the establishment, in 1636, of Harvard College, the first institution of higher learning in the colonies. Schooling of Indians was one of the early objectives of the founders of Harvard as indicated by the charter of 1650 which read, in part, "for the education of English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge" (Layman, 1942, pp. 71–72). Early efforts to obtain funding for Indian missionary work at Harvard were unsuccessful, but eventually some monies were allocated by the English Society for this purpose.

The second building on the Harvard campus in Boston was known as the Indian College. It was completed in 1654 with accommodations for thirty students. Unfortunately, only three to five Indian students attended the Indian College during its existence. Two of the early graduates died of diseases not long after graduation and another was killed by other Indians. Few of the early graduates attained the objective of the college which was to have them return to their tribes as preachers of the Gospel (Salisbury, 1974).

The most noted early Indian student at Harvard was John Sassamon, a student of Reverend Eliot's, who attended Harvard in 1653 prior to the completion of the Indian College. Sassamon, a Massachusetts Indian, assisted Eliot in the translation of the Bible and preached at several of the Indian villages. He was killed in 1675 by the Indian chief King Philip who believed he had divulged war plans to the English. This was one of the incidents which precipitated King Philip's War and the destruction of Eliot's villages of "praying Indians" (Morison, 1936).

Very few Indians attended Harvard College during the later part of the seventeenth century. The only recorded graduate during this period was Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck who was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1665. He died of tuberculosis the winter after his graduation (Davis, 1890).

The Indian College building was used primarily as a residence for white students. One room housed the press used by John Eliot to print his Indian Bible. After 1677, the building fell into disrepair and the printing room was the only part in regular use. The Indian College building was razed in 1698, and the bricks were used in the construction of other buildings on the Harvard campus. Thus, the first attempt to provide higher education for American Indians at America's first college was a failure. Daniel Gookin, a contemporary missionary, summarized the Harvard Indian College by stating: "In truth the design was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the ends proposed" (Salis-

bury, 1974, p. 47). Reverend John Eliot died in 1690. He is remembered as one of the first of many churchmen to attempt to bring the word of God and the benefits of civilization to the Indian.

In colonial Virginia, as in New England, there was interest in schooling for the local Indians. These efforts, like those to the north, were motivated by the desire to Christianize and civilize the Indians. Robert Gray (cited in Robinson, 1952) wrote in 1609:

> It is not the nature of men, but the education of men which make them barbarous and uncivil. . . . Therefore, change the education of men, and you will see their nature will be rectified and corrected. (p. 153)

Interest developed among the Virginians, in 1616, in the establishment of a college for the local Indians. In the same year, the visit of several Indians, including the celebrated Pocahantas, to England created interest in Indians and their education. Successful collections were taken up in English churches for the support of education and conversion of Indians in the colonies. Later additional large contributions were made in England for this purpose. The London Company in 1618 set aside 10,000 acres near Henrico, Virginia, for an Indian college. The funds previously collected were held as an endowment to develop this land. Tenant farmers arrived in 1619 from England to farm the college land. George Thorpe was appointed deputy of the college in 1620. He worked diligently to increase the proceeds, and his humane treatment of the local Indians earned their respect and friendship (Robinson, 1952).

The planning for the Indian college at Henrico came to an abrupt end when the Indians attacked the Virginia colonists in 1622. Of a total population of 1,240 settlers, 349 were killed including George Thorpe. There were some later efforts to continue plans for an Indian college; but, understandably, they met with little support from the remaining colonists (Robinson, 1952). For the next half century little progress was made in developing education for Indians in Virginia.

William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Virginia, was founded in 1693. Among its purposes were to educate the colonists' sons, to educate and convert Indians, and to train ministers. The major donation made to Indian education was a provision in the will of Englishman Robert Boyle who died in 1691. Boyle, the father of modern chemistry, devised Boyle's Law known to all chemistry students. He bequeathed 5,400 English pounds which were invested in a Yorkshire, England, manor known as Brafferton, the proceeds from which were to be used for Indian education. These monies were divided among William and Mary College, Harvard College, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England. The Indian College at William and Mary was founded in 1700; and, initially, the Indian students resided with local families. In 1711, eleven Indian students enrolled at the college, and by 1712 the enrollment increased to twenty (Robinson, 1952). Income from the Boyle endowment had grown sufficiently by 1723 to finance the construction of Brafferton Hall, a building for the Indian College. Brafferton, a brick building, had a total of twelve rooms. It has been restored and now houses some of the administrative offices at the College of William and Mary. It is the oldest building in the country constructed for Indian education (Layman, 1942).

Eight of the 75 students enrolled at William and Mary in 1754 were Indians (Robinson, 1952). The effectiveness of Indian education at William and Mary is difficult to evaluate. According to the reports of the college, some early Indian students made good progress in their studies, but the broad objective of Christianizing and civilizing the Indian boys was not attained. The attempts at Indian education did serve to increase friendly relations between them and the white colonists which was significant in later years.

The Indian enrollment at William and Mary declined until the onset of the Revolutionary War when cessation of funds from England forced closure of the Indian College. In 1776 the last three Indian students received funds from the Boyle endowment, and in 1783 these funds were diverted to Negro education (Layman, 1942).

In the mid-sixteenth century a Congregational minister, Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, founded an Indian school in New England that was to meet with more success than the efforts of previous missionaries. Wheelock had been teaching several Indian and white boys in his home. His view of mankind and Indian education was strongly influenced by the religious zeal of the Great Awakening of 1732 to 1742. His teaching reflected the more practical and worldly views of the more progressive ministers of his day. Earlier efforts by missionaries had been hampered by the naive, narrow Puritanical views of Eliot and his contemporary ministers.

In 1754 the first students arrived at what was to become Moor's Charity School for Indians in

Lebanon, Connecticut. The first two pupils at Wheelock's school were the Algonquin boys, John Pumshire and Jacob Wooley, who were 14 and 11 years of age, respectively. The school was named for Colonel Joshua More who donated land and a house to Wheelock's school. During the first 14 years of its existence, the enrollment of Moor's Charity School ranged from 60 to 75 boys, most of whom were Indians. A unique aspect of Moor's Charity School was the admission of women beginning in 1761. In the eight years following 1761, 16 girls were admitted to the school (Szasz, 1980).

Wheelock's prize pupil was Samson Occum, a Mohegan Indian who learned quickly and was ordained as a Presbyterian minister in 1759. Occum and Reverend Nathaneil Whitaker traveled to the British Isles in 1765–1766 to seek donations for Wheelock's school. Occum's educational attainments and personality so impressed the British that they donated 11,000 English pounds to the education and conversion of the Indians at Moor's Charity School. Samson Occum became one of the most noted Indians of his time and the outstanding example of a civilized, Christian Indian. He devoted most of his life to preaching to other Indians. In spite of his devotion to Christianity and his high level of education, he was never accepted by the white colonists as an equal. The racism and prejudice prevented even this outstanding person, who did everything he could to be like them, from being socially accepted. In his later years he broke with Wheelock because he felt the latter's commitment to Indian education had declined and he was only interested in education of white colonists (Szasz, 1988). Occum returned to his people and continued to preach the Gospel, but the assimilation Wheelock had hoped for was unsuccessful, even with this most Christian and civilized of Indians. Occum died in 1792 at the age of 69 years (Blodgett, 1935).

Joseph Brant, another of Reverend Wheelock's noted Indian students, became an officer in the British army and an outstanding chief of the Mohawk Tribe (King, 1963). After the Revolutionary War, Brant worked as a missionary and, in 1787, translated the Prayer Book into the Mohawk language. He attended Moor's School from 1761 to 1763; his two sons, Joseph II and Jacob, were enrolled at his alma mater in 1800. Joseph Brant moved to Canada where the southern Ontario town of Brantford is named for him.

A list compiled by Reverend Wheelock contains the names of 66 Indian students who attended Moor's Charity School in the year 1743 and 1770 (Kelly, 1929). These students were from seven northeastern tribes, and Szasz (1980) notes that members of the Pequot Tribe also attended the school. In 1769, Reverend Wheelock moved his school to Hanover, New Hampshire, where the governor had offered support for the school. Wheelock believed there were more Indians with potential for conversion in the Hanover area. Two of his students, Daniel and Abraham Simons, accompanied Wheelock in his move to New Hampshire. Daniel was later ordained and served as a teacher and preacher in Stockbridge. In later years he served as a missionary to a small group of Delaware Indians living in New Jersey (Szasz, 1980).

As were previous efforts in Indian education, Moor's School was funded primarily by monies contributed by English and Scotch church members for the conversion of Indians. The largest single source of funding was the contributions obtained by Samson Occum and Reverend Whitaker during their visitation to Britain. The school received a grant in 1787 consisting of one-half of the township of Wheelock, Vermont, which provided $600 annually for Moor's School (Richardson, 1930). During the later years of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century, Wheelock had increasing difficulty in obtaining funds from the Scotch Society which controlled the monies collected in Britain for Indian education. Apparently the directors were distrustful of Wheelock's management and, therefore, were reluctant to release funds to him. Partially as a result of this situation, the school went further into debt, and in 1829 Moor's Charity School was closed so that the remaining funds could be used to pay the accumulated debts. In 1837 the school was reopened and continued in operation for thirteen years until it was permanently closed in 1850. After that year, Indians were aided in attendance at Kimball Union Academy and other schools in the area. Until 1893 one to five Indians attended these preparatory schools with assistance from funds managed by the Scotch Society (Richardson, 1930).

Szasz (1980) states that three factors contributed to the failure of education imposed upon the Indians by Wheelock and the early Puritan missionaries. These were the great resistance of Indian culture, the conflicting values of white and Indian cultures, and the prevalent racial prejudice.

In 1769, Reverend Wheelock founded Dartmouth College and became its first president. He also continued to administer Moor's Charity School as an

academy for college preparation. Dartmouth was the first college founded primarily for the education of American Indians. The first charter of the college stated that the college was founded for:

> The education and instruction of youth of the Indian tribes in this Land in reading, writing and all parts of Learning which will appear necessary and expedient for civilizing the Christianized Children of Pagans, as well as in all Liberal Arts and Sciences; and also of English youth and any others. (Layman, 1942, pp. 87–88)

In spite of Dartmouth's stated purpose, it was never a predominantly Indian school. White students soon outnumbered Indians in the student body, and it is estimated that in the 24 years prior to 1793 fewer than one hundred Indians attended Dartmouth. A list of Indians who attended Dartmouth College and/or Moor's School between 1800 and 1892 includes 55 names, but it is not clearly stated that they all attended these schools; some may have enrolled in other schools or academies in the area (Richardson, 1930). The Indians on this list represent a total of thirteen Indian tribes with the largest number coming from the St. Francis Tribe. In addition to other local tribes a few from the Choctaw and Cherokee of the southeast and the Sioux and Blackfeet of the Northern Plains were also in attendance (Richardson, 1930). In the one hundred years from 1865 to 1965, only 28 Indians were enrolled at Dartmouth, 9 of whom graduated (Henry, 1972). Thus, this college planned for the education of Indians contributed little to the civilization or conversion of the Native American people.

The first Indian graduate of Dartmouth College was Daniel Simons, a Naragansett, who completed his bachelor's degree in 1777, eight years after he accompanied Wheelock in his move to Hanover. Records show that two other Indians graduated from Dartmouth in the eighteenth century. One of these, L. V. Sabatannen, a Huron, was the first Canadian Indian to graduate from college. He graduated in 1782 (Price, 1978). Another of the few early Indian graduates was John Masta of the St. Francis Tribe, who received an M.D. degree in 1850. He was probably the first Indian physician and practiced medicine in Barton, Vermont, until his death in 1861 (Richardson, 1930).

In addition to the support from the Congregational Church for Dartmouth College, there was some token assistance for Indian education from the fledgling federal government. The Continental Congress of 1775 appropriated $500 for education of Indians at Dartmouth College (Kickingbird and Kickingbird, 1979). This appropriation was raised to $5,000 in 1780, indicating increased support for Indian education among the founding fathers. As with the churchmen, the major objective of the federal officials was the conversion and civilization of the local Indians.

In later years the number of Indians graduating from Dartmouth was very small; records show only three Indian graduates in the eighteenth century and eight in the nineteenth century. The Indian School remained an inoperative part of Dartmouth until 1915 (Morris, 1954).

Dartmouth had the potential of becoming an institution that provided for the educational needs of a significant number of American Indians, but instead it developed into a prestigious private college primarily for white males. This pattern was repeated at several other early institutions as other sections of this chapter indicate. As is discussed in Chapter 4, efforts were made in the latter part of the twentieth century to attract Indians to Dartmouth and provide for their educational needs.

One interesting artifact of Reverend Wheelock's intentions in the founding of Dartmouth College is the following drinking song written by Richard Hovey and still sung by Dartmouth revelers:

> O, Eleazar Wheelock was a very pious man,
> He went into the wilderness to teach the Indian,
> With a gradus ad parnassum, a Bible, and a drum,
> And five hundred gallons of New England rum.
> (McCallum, 1939)

Although Wheelock's efforts to convert and educate Indians at Moor's School and Dartmouth cannot be considered a success, he accomplished more than his predecessors. He selected young Indians who were removed from the influences of their families and homes to attend school which proved more effective than trying to convert and civilize entire villages as Eliot did. He did convince some whites that Indians could attain a higher level of education than they had thought possible. A number of his students made significant contributions to their people and served as mentors to younger Indians. Some of Wheelock's success was related to the more secure position of whites in post Revolutionary War times as compared to the precarious conditions of the early colonists who were surrounded by Indians they did not understand or trust. In the later years of his career, Reverend Wheelock lost some of his

commitment to Indian education but still believed it was a worthwhile cause. Wheelock died in Hanover, New Hampshire, at the age of 68.

In the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the growing need for an educated populace in a democracy promoted the establishment of a new type of educational institution. Prior to this time the only form of secondary education available was the Latin school which provided a classical education. This type of education emphasized Greek, Latin, and the classics and was not appropriate for most young white persons who did not intend to enter college or the ministry, and was even less suitable for the colonial Indian youth. The new schools, known as academies, primarily enrolled males who wanted to enter such professions as teaching, medicine, or politics. The few schools for young women at this time were known as seminaries and emphasized womanly arts rather than preparation for a profession. During the early federal years several academies were founded for the education of Indians (Berkhofer, 1965).

One of the earliest Indian academies was founded in 1794 for the education of the Oneida Indians of New York. This school was founded by Reverend Samuel Kirkland, Eleazar Wheelock's first white student. Kirkland attended Moor's School from 1760–1762 and married Wheelock's niece, Jerusha Bingham, in 1769 (Szasz, 1980). Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneidas, received 4,000 acres of land near Ft. Schuyler, New York, for his service to the American revolutionaries (Richards, 1974). Oneida Academy was established as a result of the first treaty between the United States and the American Indians which included provisions for education of the Tuscarora, Oneida, and Stockbridge Indians (7 Stat. 47–48). This treaty is also noted for including the first U.S. Congressional appropriation for vocational education. It was the first of many treaties between the United States and Indian tribes which provided for Indian education in exchange for valuable Indian lands. Unfortunately, few of these educational commitments were kept. Initially, Oneida Academy was an elementary school with a few secondary courses. In the first year here were four Indians enrolled; and in 1799, only one of the fifty students at Oneida Academy was an Indian (Layman, 1942). The school first offered college level work in 1812 when it became known as Hamilton College. It soon became an entirely white institution and exists today as a well known liberal arts college.

A few Indians attended colleges in the United States during the early federal years with assistance from the federal government. In 1819, the United States government made a general appropriation for Indian education and civilization. This appropriation in the amount of $10,000 was the first federal aid of any significance to Indian education (Officer in Waddell & Watson, 1971). The major form of federal support to Indian education prior to the Civil War was the support of missionary schools. The government cooperated with the churches for the establishment of missionary schools in various localities for the education and conversion of the local Indians. In 1823, there were 21 such schools; and by 1834, the number of church schools had increased to 60 with approximately 2,000 Indian children enrolled. These were elementary schools with some secondary courses (Officer cited in Waddell & Watson, 1971). These lower level schools established a pattern for church administered Indian education which continued for many years and was evident with smaller numbers of Indians at the secondary and post secondary levels. The federal government's support for church administered schools was not sufficient to fully support these institutions so the churches, and eventually some of the Indian tribes, contributed to their funding.

Beginning in 1820, portions of federal Indian annuities were appropriated specifically for Indian education. Ten years later the federal annuities for Indian education totaled $21,000 (Satz, 1941). In spite of the increased federal support for Indian education in the eighteenth century, for the first seventy years of that century most of the funds for tribal schools continued to come from tribal monies and contributions from churches and private individuals (Harmon, 1941).

Another early academy founded for the education and conversion of Indians and other "heathen" youth was the Foreign Missionary School at Cornwall, Connecticut. It was established by the American Board of Foreign Missions in May 1817 (Foreman, 1929). The goal of the Mission School at Cornwall was:

> The education in our country, of Heathen youths, in such a manner, as with the subsequent professional instruction, will qualify them to become useful Missionaries, Physicians, Surgeons, School-Masters, or interpreters; and to communicate to the Heathen nations such knowledge as agriculture and the arts as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization. (Berkhofer, 1965, p. 29)

Young persons from throughout the world were sent from missions to Cornwall for education in hopes they would return to spread the Gospel to their people. In its first year, one Indian was enrolled at Cornwall, in 1818 seven Indians attended, and by 1820, the number of Indians had increased to fourteen. The Indian students were from tribes of the northeast and the Cherokee and Choctaw of the southern states. Other students enrolled at Cornwall during the early years were from China, India, Hawaii, and a few white American students (Foreman, 1929).

The school at Cornwall closed in 1827 after only ten years of operation. The exact reasons for this closure are not known, but two factors influenced this decision. First, several Indian men attending Cornwall Mission School married local white women, much to the displeasure of the women's families. The bad feelings promoted toward Indians by these unions also disturbed the Indian families of the young men. Secondly, the high incidence of contraction of European communicable diseases by the Indian students at Cornwall made Indians reluctant to send their sons to Cornwall. This was a problem for all Indian schools until the Indians built up an immunity to some of these diseases. Although the number of Indians attending Cornwall during the ten years of its existence was small, the leadership and other accomplishments of these men among their people made the school's influence significant among some tribes (Foreman, 1929). At Cornwall, as at other early Indian academies, the main emphasis was on religious training.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the pressures from the expansion of white settlement increasingly conflicted with the populous tribes in the southeastern United States. Several of the large tribes in this region were settled in villages and had become successful farmers prior to the incursion of the Europeans. As early as 1805 the Choctaw chiefs established and supervised a school for their children which was financed by their annuity funds. Some of the members of these tribes had prosperous plantations worked partially by Negro slaves. The progress and stability of these Indians contributed to the hostility of the whites who wanted to live and farm in this region. Five of the largest tribes in this region—Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw—became known as the Five Civilized Tribes.

The conflicts between the white settlers and members of these tribes became so frequent and intense that in 1830 President Andrew Jackson, under pressure from several sides, signed the Indian Removal Act. This act provided for the purchase by the federal government of Indian lands east of the Mississippi River and removal of these tribes to other lands provided for them in Indian Territory (in what is now the eastern portion of the state of Oklahoma). When some Indians refused to voluntarily sign treaties selling their homelands, they were deceived or harassed into signing. Those who continued to resist were attacked by local settlers who moved onto Indian lands. Eventually they were forced by military threats to sell their lands and move west. The Cherokee was the last tribe to leave their homes and, as with other tribes, they were split into factions; those who agreed to leave and those who stayed to become the Eastern Band. Although the removal was supported primarily by land hungry whites, others promoted it for what appeared to be humanitarian reasons. These "friends of the Indians," as they were called, believed that if these tribes remained in the southeast they would be exterminated by the flood of white settlers and would be better off to move and have their own land in Indian Territory. What was not foreseen, or perhaps was ignored, was the fact that white settlement would soon reach Oklahoma, and the situation would be repeated. As a result of the infamous General Allotment Act of 1887, nearly all the Indian lands in Indian Territory would pass from Indian to white ownership. The drastic effects of this Act on tribal cultures and Indian education is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The removal of the Five Civilized Tribes was a black page in the history of our country. There was terrible suffering and a high death rate during the long march to the west. Among the Cherokees it is known as the "trail of tears." Unfortunately, this event set a precedent for later attempts to solve the "Indian problem" by moving entire tribes from their homelands to reservations on land unwanted by the whites.

Prior to removal, several of the Civilized Tribes had established effective school systems. The scholarly accomplishment of one individual is particularly notable. In 1822, Sequoyah (George Guess), a Cherokee who could not read or write English, completed formation of a syllabary for the Cherokee language. This remarkable feat took him twelve years and is indicative of the high value placed on learning by some members of these tribes. Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee, who attended the Missionary

School at Cornwall, assisted Sequoyah in this monumental task. The Cherokees soon had books and a newspaper published in their language, and they became the most literate group of people in Indian Territory, including the whites in the area. Sequoyah called the books "talking leaves" and realized their importance for the development of his people (Porter, 1955).

One of the most remarkable institutions in the early history of American Indian higher education was founded in 1825. This school, known as Choctaw Academy, was located at Great Crossings near Georgetown, Kentucky. It was initially financed by the Choctaw Tribe from an annual appropriation of $6,000 provided by the Treaty of Washington. In the Treaty of Washington, signed in 1825, the second article provided that:

> The United States do hereby agree to pay the said Choctaw Nation the sum of $6,000 annually forever; it being agreed that said sum . . . shall be annually applied for the term of 20 years under the direction of the President of the United States to the support of schools in the said nation, and extending it to the benefits of instruction in the mechanic and ordinary arts of life. (Fox, 1943, p. 53)

For twenty years Choctaw Academy was the most significant educational institution for Indians in the United States (Layman, 1942).

Soon after the treaty was signed, William Ward, the Choctaw agent, wrote to Reverend Jacob Creath, a Baptist minister, and Colonel Richard Johnson of Kentucky, informing them that the Choctaw chiefs wanted to use the $6,000, plus additional funds from land sales for education of their youth by a missionary society. Colonel Johnson quickly replied that he had been teaching some Indians at his Scott County, Kentucky, farm and would be willing to broaden the curriculum and increase enrollment to accommodate the Choctaws. Johnson was a politically influential man and a close friend of powerful government and Baptist leaders. He commanded a cavalry unit in the War of 1812 where he participated in the Battle of the Thames in which Tecumseh, the great Shawnee leader, was killed. This made Johnson somewhat of a hero after the war. He held several local and state political offices, and eventually served as Vice President of the United States (1937–1941) under President Martin Van Buren (Fox, 1943).

The Department of War quickly accepted Colonel Johnson's proposal for a school at his Kentucky farm, and the Choctaw Tribe approved Johnson's farm as the school site. The Baptist General Convention also agreed to his proposal and to raise funds for the school's operation. Choctaw Academy opened November 1, 1825, with an enrollment of 21 Choctaw students. It is evident that Richard Johnson's influence in the federal government and the Baptist Church was responsible for the rapid decision to locate Choctaw Academy at his Great Crossings farm. Although Choctaw Academy was supported and to some degree administered by the Baptist Church, it was not a typical missionary school. Its program and operation were quite different from other missionary schools, and there was much more involvement of the Choctaw leaders in its administration.

Reverend Thomas Henderson was the first and, by far, the most influential chief administrator of Choctaw Academy. Layman (1942) concludes concerning Henderson's role at the school:

> Its history had been replete with mercenary designs, political bickering, tribal distrust and dissatisfaction. The one saving feature of the whole institution seems to have been Thomas Henderson's devotion to the interests of the Indian boy. That the academy produced some of the leaders among the Indian tribes appears to have been largely a result of his influence and teachings. (p. 348)

Choctaw Academy was formally under the control of the War Department, as were all Indian affairs at that time. Army personnel periodically inspected the school, but Reverend Henderson was the actual administrator and formulated and implemented most of the policies. This arrangement was probably the result of Colonel Johnson's previously mentioned influence in the federal government. Support for Choctaw Academy from the federal government rose and fell with Johnson's political fortunes. Most of the funds for operation of this institution came from tribal monies paid by the Choctaw and other tribes with students enrolled. The funding in the early years was quite adequate which was unusual for any Indian school (Fox, 1943).

A serious cholera epidemic struck Choctaw Academy in 1833. A report on the epidemic recommended improvements in the sanitary and health conditions at the academy. This resulted in changes which were needed to protect the students' health (Foreman, 1931).

The initial curriculum at Choctaw Academy was composed of the following courses: English grammar, geography, writing, arithmetic, practical surveying, astronomy, natural philosophy, history,

moral philosophy, and vocal music. It was originally agreed that there would be no manual training courses at the Academy; but in 1833, at the urging of I. N. Bourassa, a Potawatomi instructor, some were added. The areas of manual training introduced were gardening, wagonmaking, blacksmithing, shoemaking, and tailoring (Fox, 1943). These courses soon became very popular with the Indian students.

Choctaw Academy was progressive for its time. In addition to the emphasis placed on academic and religious development of the students, it had a variety of extra-curricular activities. These consisted of annual public examinations, exhibition of students' work, student government, music activities, and speech presentations. Henderson also instituted two-week summer camps at a nearby health resort for students. Although little is known about his life, Reverend Henderson was deeply committed and successful in providing for the educational needs of his students (Fox, 1943).

In 1839, 33 students at Choctaw Academy signed a report critical of the school and its chief administrator. After this, most tribes were unwilling to send their young men to the school (Foreman, 1932). In 1840, Reverend Henderson resigned as principal; and, thereafter, the school declined in effectiveness and enrollment. Peter Pitchlynn, a Choctaw leader who had attended Choctaw Academy, succeeded Henderson as principal from 1841 to 1842 (Satz, 1975).

In the early 1840s the Choctaw Tribe began to withdraw support for Choctaw Academy. They were still interested in supporting higher education for their young people, but Choctaw Academy was no longer meeting their needs. In 1842, the Choctaw Council voted to support students at Ohio University, Jefferson College, and Asbury University but explicitly excluded Choctaw Academy (Fox, 1943). Part of this was due to dissatisfaction with the administration of the school. After 1842, the removal of the Choctaws and the other Civilized Tribes from their original homes was nearly complete, and they were more concerned with establishing schools in their new homes than in financing a school in distant Kentucky.

Fox (1943) summarizes the reasons for the close of Choctaw Academy as follows: (a) changes in tribal attitudes and support for the school; (b) Colonel Johnson's tactics and the decline of his political power; (c) development of a rather definite federal Indian education policy between 1818 and 1849, centered on the development of local community schools; and (d) loss of support for the school by the local residents of Great Crossings.

Fox (1943) points out the influences of this unique school as follows:

> However, it is known that many of the students afterward became outstanding leaders in their respective tribes, and it is more than a guess that many of their qualities of leadership were developed by their training experiences at the Choctaw Academy. The school served a useful function also in providing adult members of the tribes experience in maintaining an educational institution. (p. 151)

In 1836, the enrollment at Choctaw Academy was approximately 152 students. Sixty-five of these were Choctaws and the remainder were from the other Civilized Tribes and several midwestern tribes. Two years later the enrollment remained at 152 with 130 students in academic courses and 22 in shops. Although Choctaw Academy's academic programs were not comparable to today's higher education, they were the most advanced programs available to all but a few Indians in the period 1825 to 1845.

Choctaw Academy was a unique school. It was the first and one of the most successful schools to be administered jointly by an Indian tribe, a church, and the federal government. It had a relatively large and stable enrollment of Indians and was initially well financed and administered. It was also unique in being far removed from the homes of most of the Indian students. Overall, Choctaw Academy was the most significant and successful higher level Indian school to be founded in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its early demise was a result of changes in the conditions of the major Indian tribes and the development of new federal government policies in Indian education. As of 1849, nearly the entire support for Indian schools came from the Indian tribes (Forbes, 1970).

After removal, all of the Five Civilized Tribes began to reestablish tribal school systems in their new lands. The Cherokees in 1843, provided funds for eleven district schools in their nation. Soon ten Cherokee schools existed with an enrollment of 400 children (Fox, 1943). The Cherokee National Council, in 1846, passed an act providing for a National Male Seminary and a National Female Seminary. These were tribally controlled and financed secondary schools whose objectives were:

> To carry out a further degree of maturity the national system of education already commenced and in which all

other branches of learning shall be taught which may be required to carry the mental culture of the youth of our country to the highest practicable point. (Henshaw, 1935, pp. 57–58)

In order to enter the seminaries, students had to pass examinations in English, language and grammar, arithmetic, and geography.

John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokee Nation, was the leading proponent of the seminaries. He laid the cornerstone of the Female Seminary on June 21, 1847, and in the same year led the groundbreaking for the Male Seminary. The Male Seminary was located one mile south of Tahlequah, the Cherokee capital, and the Female Seminary was at Park Hill, three miles to the southeast (Henshaw, 1935). These solid brick buildings trimmed with stone were completed in 1850. These buildings contained eighty rooms exclusive of bays, closets, and storerooms. The first floors had classrooms, library, auditorium, dining room, kitchen, parlor, and guest rooms; and the second and third floors had the living quarters for students and teachers (Henshaw, 1935).

Both Cherokee Seminaries were opened in 1851. The first year the Male Seminary had 27 students and the Female Seminary enrolled 25 young women. These schools became the pride of the Cherokee Nation. The first teachers in the seminaries were white persons educated in eastern colleges. They taught not only the academic subjects but also required behavior expected of educated men and women of the era. Although there was less emphasis on religious training than in the missionary schools, all teachers were required to profess faith in Christianity. The courses of study were four years in length and included a number of advanced courses. Because both students and teachers lived in the school building, the programs of study were quite intensive. The male students were required to do close order drill three times a week, "not to promote knowledge of military science, but to cultivate a manly bearing and to engender habits of promptness and obedience" (Henshaw, 1935, p. 72).

The first classes were graduated in 1855 with 24 and 8 graduates from the Female and Male Seminaries, respectively. After successfully carrying out their educational mission in the first few years, the seminaries had to close in 1857 due to a lack of funds. The continued financial problems and the Civil War postponed the reopening of the Cherokee Seminaries until 1875. The buildings were restored and enlarged to accommodate 200 students at each institution.

The first graduates after the Civil War were three students at the Female Seminary in 1879, but it was not until 1882 that the Male Seminary had its first two postwar graduates. In addition to providing for their own young people after the war, the Cherokees founded schools for Black freemen. In 1890, they established a "Colored Highschool" located five miles northwest of Tahlequah at Double Springs Place. In addition to the secondary curriculum, in 1900 a normal session was held with 22 Black teachers in attendance (Henshaw, 1935). Little has been written about the significance of this school in the educational development of Blacks in the Cherokee Nation, but it shows that the Cherokee were supportive of the education of the children of others in their country.

Another tragedy hit the Cherokee schools when the Female Seminary burned to the ground in April 1887, but the Cherokee Council appropriated $6,000 for a new building which was completed in 1889. The rebuilding of the seminaries after the Civil War and again after the fire of 1887 are evidence of the high priority the tribe placed on advanced education for their people. The graduates of the seminaries made valuable contributions to the education of the Cherokees. Of the eleven graduates of the Female Seminary in 1887, seven became teachers in the Cherokee primary schools. Unfortunately, in 1891 the seminaries were forced once again to close due to lack of funds and political disagreements. After reopening in 1892, the seminaries and primary departments again prospered and grew in enrollment. In the summers, normal schools were held for young teachers at the Female Seminary (Henshaw, 1935).

In the early years of the twentieth century the Cherokee Seminaries decreased some in their enrollments and effectiveness. After Oklahoma gained statehood in 1907, the seminaries were doomed; and in 1909 they were purchased by the state of Oklahoma. The Female Seminary became Northeastern State Normal School which today is Northeastern Oklahoma State University. This institution has continued to serve the higher education needs of many of the Cherokees and other local Indian people. In 1982, Northeastern State had 964 Indian students, the fourth largest Indian enrollment in the United States (NCE Statistics, 1984).

The strong commitment to advanced education by the Cherokees is shown by the more than fifty years of support for their seminaries in spite of financial problems, fires, political differences, and a war. The

contributions of these schools to the educational and cultural development of the Cherokee people was very important. The high literacy rate among the Cherokees during the latter years of the nineteenth century was primarily due to the seminaries and the teachers they provided for the primary schools in the Cherokee Nation.

A number of noted Cherokees attended the seminaries. From 1855 to 1909, 382 Cherokee men and 252 Cherokee women graduated from the Cherokee Seminaries. This provided the Cherokees with a cadre of educated persons unequalled by any other Indian tribe and by most contemporary non-Indian groups. The primary schools and seminaries of the Cherokee People laid a foundation for their educational development which surpassed any other Indian tribe of their day. This was accomplished through the initiative and resources of the Tribe with little outside assistance.

In the post removal era, the Choctaw People also continued to strongly support education in their nation. As early as 1833 they inaugurated a tribal school system which flourished. By 1847 they had ten academies and seminaries for young men and women. These schools were financed jointly by tribal, federal, and/or missionary monies. The Choctaws also had seven schools to teach reading, writing and arithmetic to adult members of their tribe (Adams, 1946).

One of the schools established by the Choctaws in 1842 was Spencer Academy which was named for Secretary of War, John C. Spencer, a strong advocate of Indian education. The school, located ten miles north of Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation, was primarily an elementary school with some secondary level work. The tribe made an annual appropriation of $6,000 which was from the Treaty of Washington, formerly used for Choctaw Academy (Fox, 1943). Spencer Academy was under the control and management of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation. It was administered by the Presbyterian Church through a charter from the Choctaw Tribe.

Spencer Academy became known as the "Choctaw Harvard" and was influential in education of many of the tribe's leaders. Many well-to-do Choctaws gave generously to maintain the Academy, showing the high priority they placed on education. As was the case with other early Indian schools, there was one person whose dedicated work kept Spencer Academy going through some difficult times. He was Alexander Reid, who was superintendent from 1849 to 1861 (Baird, 1965). As with the other tribal schools, Spencer Academy declined during the later years of the nineteenth century and closed in 1900.

As with the Cherokees, most of the tribal schools of the other Five Civilized Tribes closed during the Civil War (1860–1864), but in the postwar years the schools reopened. The day schools and boarding schools which reopened included those that were part of the tribal school systems and those maintained by religious groups. After the Civil War, the Chickasaws invested more than three-fourths of their annuities in education. By 1880, this tribe had a literacy rate of over fifty percent which was high for that time period (Baird, 1974). A few young people of the Five Civilized Tribes attended schools and colleges in other states during the latter years of the twentieth century (Davis, cited in Morris, 1954).

Soon after the end of the Civil War, several church supported colleges were founded, ostensibly for the higher education of Indians. Most of these schools were short lived and had little permanent influence on Indian education, but a few survived as predominantly white institutions.

A school named the Presbyterian School for Girls was founded in 1882 in the town of Muskogee, Indian Territory. In 1907 this school was moved to Tulsa, Oklahoma, and renamed Henry Kendall College. It was again renamed Tulsa University in 1920 and continues today as an independent, predominantly white university (Logsdon, 1977).

One post Civil War era college is of particular interest because it has been proven that it was founded not to serve the Indians but to defraud them of their land. This college was founded in 1860 as Roger Williams University on the reservation of the Ottawa Indians in eastern Kansas Territory. The residents of this reservation were members of several bands of Ottawas who had been forced to sell and vacate their lands in the Maumee Valley of Ohio in the 1830s. They were granted a reservation of 73,000 acres of rich farmland on the Marias de Cynges River in Kansas Territory.

A number of persons, white and Indian, were involved in the complex scheme to develop Ottawa University and the adjacent town of the same name. The three persons who were most prominent in this scheme were John Tecumseh (Tauy) Jones, Clinton C. Hutchinson, and Isaac S. Kalloch (Unrau & Miner, 1985). Born a mixed blood Chippewa in Canada, Jones was raised by white relatives and attended Columbia College in Washington, D.C., and

Madison Seminary in New York. He was employed as an interpreter at the Sault Saint Marie Indian Agency and as a teacher at Choctaw Academy. Later he moved to the Potawatomi reservation west of the Missouri River in Kansas Territory. Soon he moved again to the nearby Ottawa Reservation where he and his wife were adopted by the Ottawa Tribe. His membership in the tribe provided influence which would benefit him later in dealings to defraud the tribe.

Reverend Isaac S. Kalloch, a Boston Baptist minister, had been charged with adultery and, although found not guilty, was forced to leave his church. He visited Kansas Territory in 1857 and 1860 before moving there at the end of the Civil War in 1864. His reputation as a womanizer and heavy drinker continued in Kansas as he preached the Gospel to the Indians and settlers of the frontier. He was admitted to the Kansas Bar and was appointed a founder of Bluemont College which later became Kansas State University. Kalloch was a charismatic speaker and a successful fund raiser. These talents were to be well utilized in his participation in the taking of the lands and other assets of the Ottawas (Marberry, 1947).

The third member of this unholy triad was Clinton C. Hutchinson, a close friend of Jones, who believed that the rich Indian lands of eastern Kansas were ripe to be plucked. In 1861 he was appointed as agent to the Sac and Fox Tribes. This proved to be a classic example of the fox being put in charge of the hen house. In a short time Hutchinson was dismissed from this position as "unfit for Indian service" as a result of an unaccounted for $2,000 of Indian money and his frequent verbal abuse of his charges. In spite of his dismissal, in 1862 he was appointed agent for the Ottawa Tribe indicating his political influence and probable collusion of officers of the Indian Service (Unrau & Miner, 1985).

Although others—churchmen, government officials, and Indians—benefited from the scheme to defraud the Ottawas, Jones, Kalloch, and Hutchinson were the three most centrally involved and may be seen as representative of the greed and dishonesty of frontier land speculators.

The presence of a college in a small frontier town was an economic advantage and establishing a college was a common means to raise the land values of small communities before and after the war. This was the major motive for the founding of Roger Williams University by the men mentioned above and the other Baptist leaders. Although it was purported that the college was needed for the education and civilization of the Ottawas and other local Indians, there is no evidence that this institution had the support of any Ottawas other than John Jones and his friends who stood to benefit financially from the institution.

In 1865, Kalloch was appointed the first president of the developing college and it was renamed Ottawa University. In 1867, while the first college building was being built, the Ottawas, under pressure from the federal government, agreed to move south to the northeast corner of Indian Territory. This treaty of 1867 provided that the money from the sale of their Kansas lands would be used to purchase the western portion of the Shawnee reservation in Indian Territory (Kappler, 1904).

Jones, Kalloch, Hutchinson and others benefited from the Ottawa move by purchasing Ottawa lands at $1 an acre and selling them later at much higher prices. Part of the 20,000 acres allotted for the support of the university was also sold or obtained by speculators through Jones' influence in the tribe and Hutchinson's pressure on the Indian Office. A variety of other means were used to illegally obtain the assets of the Ottawas by those who were supposed to be protecting their rights.

In spite of the fact that the Ottawas were moving to Indian Territory and selling their Kansas lands, building of their university continued; and in 1869 the first building, Tauy Jones Hall, was completed at a cost of $50,000. It was much larger and ornate than was needed by the Ottawas even if they had remained in Kansas. It appears that the founders had long planned that this building was to serve the local white population and not the Indians (Unrau & Miner, 1985).

After the Ottawas moved to Indian Territory, the University board controlled by Kalloch and Hutchinson refused to provide free education for Ottawa children as provided for in the Treaty of 1867. This caused most of the Ottawas to refuse to send their children to Ottawa University. In 1871 only one Indian child, Idelette Jones, the daughter of John T. Jones, attended Ottawa University; and it thus became a school for white youth.

Although the move from Kansas was not long in distance, the cultural and emotional trauma experienced by the Ottawas caused great suffering and increased their death rate (Cash & Wolff, 1976). In the ensuing years the tribe made several attempts to obtain compensation for their valuable lands in Kansas, but a lack of national concern for Indian rights

and the apathy of federal officials entrusted with Indian welfare made their efforts futile.

Finally in 1946, the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission presented a means for the Ottawas to press their claims. A petition was filed in 1951 with the Commission which contained twelve principle charges related to the loss of their lands and the monies from their sale. The three charges pertaining directly to Ottawa University were (a) "permitted the organization of an illegal university board of trustees and sanctioned operation of this illegal board," (b) "failed to guarantee that Ottawa University would always be open to Ottawa children" and (c) allowed the settlement of 1873, which provided that only a small portion of university or trust lands remaining unsold to return to the tribe, and only a fraction of the assets obtained from the proceeds of the land sales to return to the tribe (Doc. 303, 1951). The task of proving these charges was complicated by the federal government's attempts to terminate a number of tribes in the early 1950s including the Ottawas who were terminated in 1956 (Cash & Wolf, 1976).

In 1960 the Indian Claims Commission finally released its opinion which upheld almost all of the Ottawas' charges, included awards of $22,600 for the Ottawa University section of land and $7,490 for the 1,200 acres illegally conveyed to Ottawa University. On April 30, 1965, one hundred years after the founding of Ottawa University, the Ottawa Tribe received $406,166.19 for their claims (Amended Final Award, 1967). These funds were distributed to the 630 members of the tribe. Finally, legal, if not moral restitution was made to the Ottawa People.

In the early 1970s, Ottawa University was still in operation and advertising itself as an innovative institution affiliated with the American Baptist Church. A school publication states the University was founded in 1862 on land given by the Ottawa Indians (*Ottawa University Bulletin*, 1972–73, p. 83).

The history of Ottawa University is the best documented case of higher education and civilization being used as a means to defraud a tribe of its valuable lands. The persons responsible included several Baptist ministers, federal government agents and Indian leaders.

With this array of influence and power against them, the members of the tribe had little chance to defend their rights. Careful examination of other early Indian colleges and schools might reveal similar misconduct on the part of persons entrusted with Indian welfare.

Summary of Missionary Period of Indian Education

The missionary period of Indian education has been judged by all researchers who have studied it as a failure. In reference to the missionary efforts in Indian education during the years 1778 to 1871, Martha Layman (1942) wrote:

> The net result of almost 100 years of effort and expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for Indian education were a small number of poorly attended mission schools, a suspicious and disillusioned Indian population, and a few hundred products of missionary education who, for the most part, had either returned to [their tribal ways] or were living as misfits among the Indian or white population. (pp. 213–214)

Frederick R. Schmeeckle studied Indian education during the period from 1845 to 1865 by examining annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs from agents and teachers. In his 1970 thesis, he concluded that the efforts to educate Indians were a failure.

> Its chief objective was to convert the red man from a hunter to a farmer and to induce him to adopt the white man's civilization. It failed utterly to achieve these objectives. Indeed, many of its products were unsuited for either red or white society. (pp. iv-v)

Little has been written, specifically, about the history of Indian higher education during the missionary period. Most histories of American higher education barely mention this topic except to state that attempts to provide higher education for Indians were ill conceived and ineffective. Because of the paucity of factual information, the summary of this period is brief and most of the conclusions are speculative.

As described in this section, several of the early colonial colleges in America, i.e., Harvard, William and Mary, Dartmouth, and Hamilton were established, at least partly, for the education of Indians. The failure from the beginning to attain this objective can be attributed to a number of complex, interrelated factors in the colonies and conditions of white relations with the local Indians.

The primary motivation of the missionaries, who initiated and implemented nearly all colonial Indian education, was to Christianize the local tribes. A

second, complementary objective was to civilize the Indians. Their objectives were to save the souls of the Heathens and to protect the colonists from the attacks of "uncivilized savages." The higher education provided was designed to prepare preachers and teachers who would return to accomplish these objectives among their people. The higher education initially provided to do this was the same classical program imported from England for white students. This classical education which included learning to read Latin and Greek and study of classical literature and history along with the study of the Bible was inappropriate for the Indians and for most white colonists. Beyond the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Indians in contact with the colonists had no use for these studies. It is surprising that even a few of them, such as Samson Occum, completed such a course of studies. Vocational and other useful skills which might have been of value to the Indians were not available. Thus, a major cause of the failure of missionary Indian education was its inappropriateness for colonial Indians. In the few schools where Indians gained some control over their education, such as Choctaw Academy, the curriculum became more attuned to their needs. Unfortunately, the religious groups continued to be the major influence on what type of education was best for the Indians. *The principle of local citizen control of schools, that is a keystone of public education in the United States, was never extended to the education of Indians because they were deemed to be unqualified to manage their own schools.*

Another factor in the failure of missionary education for Indians was the lack of support from the local colonists. The zeal of the missionaries to convert and civilize the Indians was not shared by most colonists. The colonists feared the Indians and considered them a hindrance to the development of prosperous colonies in the New World. Some whites believed Indians were subhuman and that extermination was the only real solution to the conflicts. It was generally viewed that it was quicker and cheaper to kill an Indian than to convert and civilize him. Therefore, most of the financial support for colonial Indian education came from missionary societies and church collections in Britain. The distant doners in England and Scotland were uninformed and unrealistic concerning the conditions, needs, and desires of the Indians. The religious fervor of the ministers and the few educated Indians, such as Samson Occum, who traveled to Britain, gave a distorted view of the Indians' desire for Christianity and European education. The colonists who saw the reality of Indian culture and the conflicts between it and English life style were aware of the futility of the missionaries' means.

The emphasis on conversion to Christianity as the major objective of education was an important factor in the failure of the missionaries' efforts to change the Indians. The missionaries, notably Eliot in his villages, not only expected the Indians to learn English language, skills, and manners of dress but to give up all their own traditional culture and beliefs. They wanted to remold the Indian and make him a white European in every way possible. The Indians deeply resented and resisted attempts to destroy their culture and religion and the harsh punishments meted out for transgressions. Had the missionaries' educational goals for the Indians not been tied so closely to such complete changes in culture and all aspects of the Indians' lives, the missionaries might have met with more success. But as the goals were, they alienated the Indians from all formal white education. The French and Spanish were generally more successful in Indian conversion because they were more adaptive in their expectations.

The dedicated missionaries cited in this section worked long and hard for the civilization of the Indians; and, although their means were ineffective, the ends they sought were more noble than those of their fellow colonists who wanted to remove the Indians from their area by the most efficient means, including extermination. The efforts of the missionaries were doomed by the factors stated earlier and the diversity of the two cultures, neither of which could accommodate the other. The early missionaries did light the fire of learning in a few Indians and proved to some skeptical whites that Indians were capable of attaining a higher education. This had some influence on the Indian tribes which later established their own school systems.

Although it cannot be fully examined here, the documents on early Indian-white relations indicate that racism was pervasive among the colonists including those who worked with Indian education. It is evident that they saw the white race as inherently superior to dark skinned persons. They would not accept even well-educated Indians as their equals, as Samson Occum realized in his later life. Marriage between whites and Indians was not accepted although white men taking Indian women as their wives was better accepted than a marriage between

a white woman and an Indian man. It is interesting to note that a high proportion of white Indian captives, who had been with their captors for some time, chose to remain with their Indian families. Thus, Indians were more successful in assimilating whites into their culture than vice versa.

Indians of that time were less racist than were their white contemporaries. The existence of pervasive racism among colonial whites made assimilation of Indians impossible. This has continued into later periods of history as a factor interfering with the melting pot view of American society. As mentioned, French settlers adapted more easily to the Indian cultures, and assimilation including intermarriage was more common between French persons and members of various Indian tribes.

During the latter part of the missionary period a number of treaties between the United States and various Indian tribes included provisions for federal funding of Indian education. The earliest of these was the Treaty of 1794 which provided for Oneida Academy later to become Hamilton College. The frequency of provisions for education in these treaties is evidence of an early awareness by Indian leaders of the potential value of education to their people. Unfortunately, most of the promises for Indian education were never kept, and those that were met with little success due to factors previously mentioned.

Several tribes, notably the Cherokee and Choctaw, established effective tribal school systems in their homelands in the southeast and again after their removal to Indian Territory. The leadership of a few educated Indian leaders and the relative prosperity and stability of these tribes were major factors in the success of their schools. Choctaw Academy (1825–1845) was the most effective institution in the field of Indian education during this period. It was a unique school and its relative success among so many failures is of importance. The particular factors which combined to make it a success were:

1. Adequate funding from the Choctaw and other Indian tribes.
2. The political influence of Colonel Richard Johnson.
3. Support of the Choctaw chiefs and local whites and their educational input in the early years.
4. A progressive educational program including extra-curricular activities and vocational courses.
5. Lack of emphasis on religious conversion that was so strong at the missionary schools.
6. The dedicated leadership of Reverend Thomas Henderson from 1825 to 1840.

During the missionary period assistance of the federal government to Indian higher education was minimal. Even in the later part of this period, federal support for Indian education beyond the basic skills was insignificant. After the Civil War, Howard University (1867) was founded for Black freedmen and received full federal funding; but no such higher education institution was, or ever has been, provided for American Indians. Nearly all the federal support for Indian elementary schools during this period was directed to the aid for schools operated by various Protestant churches. Thus, rather than considering the Indians' views in planning their schooling, the federal government and the churches conspired to try to make the Indian into a docile Christian who did as the white man wanted. Under these conditions, it was predestined that Indian education was to fail those it served.

The only positive outcome of over two centuries of misisonary directed education for Indians was that a few Indians educated during this period were able to help their people in dealing with the whites, and the seeds were sown for tribal higher education which would bear fruit a century later.

The Federal Period: A Century of Continued Neglect of Higher Education for American Indians

Prior to the Civil War, most missionary schools among the Indians were operated by Protestant churches. With the advent of government "contract" schools in 1869, the Catholics saw an opportunity to become more active in missionary education. The Catholics, under the organization of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, aggressively sought contracts for mission schools among the Indian tribes, which resulted in a great increase in the number of these schools, particularly in the period from 1874 to 1883. These schools were funded by contracts with the federal government and private funds from the wealthy Drexel family of Philadelphia (Prucha, 1979).

In the early 1880s, Protestant leaders saw the growing Catholic school system as an obstacle to the development of a Protestant controlled public school system. As a result, a number of Indian education

leaders, including Richard H. Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian School, presented strong anti-Catholic positions concerning Indian schools. The Indian Rights Association was founded in 1882 and became allied with the mission boards of several Protestant denominations. The goal of this organization was the complete Americanization of the Indian. This influential group composed of top government, church, and private leaders held its annual meetings at Lake Mohonk, New York. It was a major supporter of the infamous Dawes Allotment Act of 1887. The Indian Rights Association also strongly promoted the separation of church and state using this position to argue against the increase in Catholic contract schools (Prucha, 1979).

During the years 1888 to 1912, the conflict continued between the Protestants and Catholics over the control of Indian schools. The welfare of Indians was not the major concern of either religious group, but the issue of Indian education was drawn into this bitter religious struggle. As Prucha (1979) wrote: "In some cases it seems fair to say, they [the Indians] were but pawns in the hands of the managers of the campaigns" (p. xii). From 1888 to 1912 the direct government aid to mission contract schools gradually came to an end. By the turn of the century, the Catholics had gained much more political power in the country including membership on the Board of Indian Commissioners, and thereafter had more voice in decisions concerning Indian education.

The outcome of this religious conflict involving the Indian schools was to greatly decrease the number and influence of mission schools for Indians and to indirectly increase the role of the federal schools in Indian education. The later unsuccessful attempts of the United States government to provide elementary and secondary education for Indians and the almost total absence of federal higher education for Indians contributed to the tragic condition of Indian education described in the Meriam Report (1928) and later surveys of Indian welfare. Thus, the major losers in the Protestant-Catholic religious conflict were the American Indians.

As a result of the conflict described above and the increased separation of church and state in the United States, in the post-Civil War years, the federal government took over nearly all responsibility for Indian education (Berkhofer, 1978). President Grant's peace policy was instituted and government efforts were increased to civilize and assimilate the Indian people. Although the first federal boarding school for Indians was established in 1860 on the Yakima Reservation in Washington Territory, the Civil War interrupted further development of these schools for several years. The first federal appropriation for government Indian schools was enacted in 1870. This appropriation in the amount of $100,000 marked the beginning of the United States government taking much more control and responsibility for the education of American Indians (Berry, 1972).

As federal efforts in Indian education increased, the tribal school systems in Indian Territory began to decline. Soon after Oklahoma became a state in 1907, all of the tribal schools closed or became part of the public school system. Indians were expected to attend the public schools or the few federal schools. The literacy rate of the Cherokees and Choctaws declined considerably after the tribal schools closed and the missionary schools decreased. Literacy among the Oklahoma Indians remained low until later years; and even in recent years, the achievement level of Indians was higher in private or public schools than in federal institutions (Peniska & Bailey, 1977).

It was six decades before American Indians were again allowed to develop their own Indian controlled and Indian-centered schools. Had the Five Civilized Tribes been permitted to continue their own schools, the history of these tribes might have been much different. Subsequent sections of this book relate some of the influence of early tribal schools on the development of Indian higher education in Oklahoma.

The Dawes Act, officially titled the General Allotment Act, was passed by the United States Congress in 1887. It provided that Indian tribal lands be allotted to individual Indians with the proviso that these lands could not be disposed of for 25 years. Each adult Indian who was the head of a family was allotted 160 acres and others were awarded lesser amounts. The passage of this act was supported by two factions with very different objectives. One faction was eager to obtain the valuable Indian lands for their own enrichment. The others, lead by the Indian Rights Association, believed that individual land ownership would encourage Indians to take up agriculture and hasten assimilation of Indians into the dominant culture. They reasoned that if an Indian owned his own land, he would become a full-fledged citizen with all the rights, privileges, and desires including education. Lands in excess of those allotted to individual Indians were declared

surplus, and purchased from the tribe by the federal government at $1.25 an acre. The government then sold these lands or made them available to white homesteaders. Traditionally, Indians had no concept of personal land ownership and were not prepared to farm or make other gainful use of their allotment. Many leased their lands to whites at very low fees. Most land held by individual Indians soon fell into white ownership through a variety of schemes, including marriage of white men to Indian women in order to obtain their allotment. The long range consequences of the General Allotment Act were disastrous for many Indian people. Between 1887 and 1933 the Indian land holdings were decreased from 150 million to 48 million acres (Gibson, 1980). Most of the land retained by the Indians was the least productive for agriculture and recovery of natural resources. Some Indian tribes, particularly those with the best farm lands and those with known mineral resources, never recovered from this loss.

Thus, the valuable tribal land resources of many of the western tribes which could have helped preserve the tribal unity and support schools for their people were lost forever. The members of the allotted tribes were doomed to lose much of their heritage and live in poverty (McNickle, 1973). One Indian writer has referred to the Dawes Act as "history's largest land swindle" (Brightman, 1971, p. 16).

The Five Civilized Tribes were not included under the original General Allotment Act, but legislation a few years later forced individual ownership of their tribal lands and resulted in the loss of nearly all of their valuable land base and rich oil deposits. A few Southwestern and Northern Plains tribes, notably the Navajo, Pueblo, Apache, and Sioux, whose land was not coveted by the whites, avoided allotment so were spared this catastrophe. Their reservation lands provided a base for tribal cohesiveness and later influenced the development of tribal schools.

Some of the money gained from the sale of surplus Indian lands was used to support federal Indian schools which tried to force the assimilation of Indians into the white culture and the extermination of the Indian language and culture. Therefore, the Dawes Act had, in two ways, the effect of nearly destroying the culture of many western Indian tribes. This act and its tragic consequences are well-documented evidence of the avarice and misunderstanding of most white persons concerning American Indians and their cultures (Prucha, 1976).

During the Civil War, Richard H. Pratt, a Union officer who commanded a unit of Black soldiers, became convinced that they were no different from whites in their capabilities and potential for development. His experience was to significantly effect the history of Indian education. After the war, Pratt who then was stationed in Indian Territory, became interested in Indians and their welfare.

Captain Pratt was ordered, in 1875, to conduct 72 Indian prisoners of war to the federal prison at Ft. Marion near St. Augustine, Florida. These Indians were purportedly the most savage members of the recently defeated Southern Plains tribes. They were Kiowas, Cheyennes, Comanches, and a few Caddos and Arapahoes, all but two of whom were men. Pratt remained at Ft. Marion as the Indians' jailor, but he soon became more than their keeper. He believed that his wards could and should be educated in the basics of reading and writing and set about promoting this with much enthusiasm. Pratt recruited local teachers to teach the Indians to read and write, and most proved to be apt pupils. Several became able to write letters to their families and read newspapers. Pratt's efforts became one of the most successful early programs in penal education (Pratt, 1964).

By 1878, Pratt had conceived the concept of an off-reservation residential school for Indians which was to have a strong influence on federal Indian education for fifty years. He tried to find a school that would accept his Indian students; and after several rebuffs, he convinced General Samuel C. Armstrong, superintendent of Hampton Institute, to take some of them (Pratt, 1964). Located in Virginia, Hampton had been founded as a school for Black freedmen. Pratt brought 17 Indians from Ft. Marion to Hampton in 1878. Hampton Institute continued to enroll Indians with government subsidies until 1912. After this the institute, a private school, subsidized Indian students in decreasing numbers until 1923. During the 45 years from 1878 to 1923, approximately 1,288 Indians attended Hampton Institute. The educational objective at Hampton was to give the Indian and Black students a basic education and to teach them a trade (Brightman, n.d.). Hampton Institute was the first non-federal, off-reservation boarding school to admit adult Indians. Some of the Indians who attended Hampton later became leaders in their tribes or successful in other fields.

In 1879, Pratt began working toward the establishment of a separate boarding school for American Indians. He was able to convince Carl Schurz, Sec-

retary of the Interior, that an abandoned military post could be utilized as an Indian boarding school. Pratt's vigorous lobbying efforts enabled him to gain permission to use Carlisle Barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for his Indian school. He traveled to the western reservations where he was successful in persuading some of the chiefs and other tribal leaders to send their children to Carlisle. The first year, 1879, Pratt enrolled approximately 200 young Indians from twelve tribes, primarily from the Western Plains (Pratt, 1964).

As at most Indian schools, funds for its operation were not easy to obtain; but in 1882, Congress appropriated $67,000 for Carlisle. In the same year Congress passed legislation to permit conversion of other unused Army posts to Indian normal and industrial schools (22 Stat. 181, 25 USC, 276).

The curriculum at Carlisle Indian School emphasized both manual arts and academic courses (Pratt, 1964). It was not an institution of higher education as is known today, but it provided the highest level of education then available to the children of the western tribes. Each boy and girl at Carlisle learned a trade. Unfortunately, some of these trades were not useful on the reservations to which many of the Carlisle Indians returned. A distinctive characteristic of the program at Carlisle was the "outing system" in which Indian boys and girls were placed in white homes to live and work during the summer months. The purpose of these placements was to promote acculturation of the young Indians. The outing system served as an effective second culture learning device, and most of the Indians who experienced it found it a pleasant experience. Some of the Indians voluntarily stayed with their "country parents" during the school year (Walker-McNeil, 1979). Even later critics of Carlisle, such as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Francis E. Leupp, admired the outing system (Pratt, 1964). Conversely, the many later critics of Pratt's programs and methods saw the outing system as forced labor and subjugation of the young Indians. They believed the main purpose of the Carlisle Indian School was to hold Indian children as hostages to control their warlike kinsmen.

The athletic teams at Carlisle brought more publicity to the school than any other facet of the institution. Pratt, after an initial negative attitude toward interscholastic athletics, decided it would be desirable to include competitive sports as a part of the program. He hired Glenn "Pop" Warner, one of the finest coaches of the period, and Carlisle soon competed on a level with the best college teams of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Carlisle produced many fine athletes of whom the most famous was Jim Thorpe, a Sac and Fox Indian from Oklahoma. Thorpe is still considered by many to be the best and most versatile natural athlete in the history of American sports. He was the only man ever to win both the pentathlon and decathlon in the Olympic Games, accomplishing this remarkable feat in 1912. He was a two-time All American in football, played major league baseball, and excelled in every sport he attempted. A movie and several books have been produced in describing the life and exploits of this great Indian athlete. Two other Carlisle Indians who achieved athletic fame were Charles "Chief" Bender, a Hall of Fame baseball pitcher, and Louis Tewanima, a Hopi, who was an Olympic champion distance runner.

Pratt's main objective was the assimilation of the Indian into white society, a goal shared by most of his contemporaries. He saw his program as "washing the Indian out of" his young students. He concluded the best way to do this was by educating the Indian children far from the cultural influences of their families and tribes. He saw Carlisle as the first step in integrating Indians into public schools and other social institutions of the dominant culture (Pratt, 1964). It was believed for many years, and still is by some persons, that Indians had high manual aptitude but lacked ability to do abstract reasoning. The academic accomplishments of some Carlisle Indians helped to break down this stereotype.

The lack of long range success of the Carlisle program in assimilating the Indian students into the white culture is evident. Most of the students returned to their reservation and the tribal life of their people. The reservation life, where they lived as wards of the federal government, provided little encouragement or opportunity to utilize their new skills or practice the trade they learned at Carlisle (Morris, 1954). The attitudes, dress, and behavior learned at Carlisle caused some returning students to be rejected by their own people.

(This situation of the Indian caught between the white and tribal cultures and not totally acceptable in either is a sadly recurring theme throughout the history of Indian-white relations in our country. Some persons have proposed various simplistic answers to this dilemma ranging from assimilation to separatism. There are no simple solutions to this

complex problem and many "experts," both Indian and non-Indian do not comprehend the complexity of cultural conflict.)

> Although Carlisle's team occasionally played Harvard, it is important to remember that these institutes were not true colleges. Their standards of training at best approximated only those of a good manual training high school. One specialist in Indian Affairs (G. E. E. Lindquist, 1923) has asked whether this was enough to meet the needs of a people striving to convert in one generation from the way of life of a primitive society to the more complex realities of a modern American culture. His feeling was that an institution like Carlisle which taught no higher than the tenth grade failed despite its many admirable qualities to equip Indian youth with sufficient education to face American life on an equal basis. (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958, p. 79)

Carlisle Indian School set a pattern for the off-reservation boarding schools that became the predominant institution in federal Indian education for fifty years (Walker-McNeil, 1979). These schools were characterized by removal of young Indians from their homes, a work and study curriculum, military discipline, an emphasis on agricultural and industrial arts for boys and homemaking for girls. Many of these schools were located at former military posts in the western part of the country.

The second off-reservation boarding school was founded in 1880 at Forest Grove, Oregon. This school was later renamed Chemawa Boarding School; its enrollment in 1890 was 453. Other early off-reservation, federal boarding schools for Indians with their founding dates and enrollments are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Early Federal Indian Off-Reservation Boarding Schools

School	Founding Date	Enrollment (1890)
Albuquerque Indian School, NM	1884	328
Chilocco Indian School, OK	1884	397
Haskell Institute, Lawrence, KS	1884	397
Santa Fe Indian School, NM	1890	380
Carson Indian School (Stewart), NV	1890	170
Phoenix Indian School, AZ	1891	686
Pierre Indian School, SD	1891	158*
Flandreau Indian School, SD	1893	279*

*First year enrollment *Note.* From Hunt, 1946

The later Indian boarding schools differed significantly from Pratt's original concept. One of the main differences was that many of the students in later years were taken involuntarily from their homes and parents. This caused a hostility toward these schools on the part of both parents and children. The later schools also enrolled children who were too young to be separated from their parents. These young children were lonely and homesick much of the time. The methods of forced assimilation became more strict and cruel. Young Indians were handcuffed, beaten, and placed in solitary confinement for minor infractions such as speaking their tribal language or trying to run away. The quality and humanity of the teachers declined over the years. The students hated the schools, and the pride and spirit of the early students at Carlisle were lost. In later years some of the more prosperous Indians were able to send their children to private or public schools. Therefore, most of the students taken to the boarding schools were from the poorest and least acculturated families. These factors and others changed the off-reservation boarding schools from Pratt's moderately successful efforts to concentration camps for the involuntary acculturation of young Indians.

By 1887 there were 2,137 students enrolled in the eight existing off-reservation boarding schools (Layman, 1942). The numbers of these schools increased and reached their peak enrollment in the 1890s (Adams, 1946). Twenty-five off-reservation boarding schools for Indians had been founded by 1900 (Szasz, 1974). After 1900, these schools declined in number and enrollment as increasing numbers of Indians attended public or reservation day schools (Morris, 1954). World War I interrupted the federal government's efforts in Indian education. Indian school personnel entered the armed forces, off-reservation boarding schools deteriorated, and less money was appropriated for Indian education (Morris, 1954). Carlisle Indian School was closed in 1918 as were several other off-reservation boarding schools. The off-reservation boarding schools were pre-eminent in federal Indian education until 1930, and some continue to operate in the 1980s. Two of these boarding schools evolved into post secondary institutions as recounted in Chapter 4.

Off-reservation boarding schools operated by the federal government were strongly criticized by Indians and non-Indians in the 1960s and 1970s, i.e., Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969;

Brightman, 1971; Szasz, 1974; and Indian Education Task Force, 1976. Much of this criticism is justified; the involuntary removal of children from their parents and the brutal treatment of students rightfully embittered some Indians against all types of "white man's" education. In no way should the serious misconduct of some personnel in these schools be condoned or excused. However, it should also be pointed out that, if judged in the context of their historic period, some good came from these schools. Robert M. Utley (1964) editor of Richard Pratt's autobiography, wrote:

> Pratt's true significance lies rather in his role as a determined, courageous, selfless worker in behalf of justice to people suffering from four centuries of oppression by the dominant culture. (p. xvii)

Some of the students who attended these schools, particularly Carlisle, later became noted leaders of their tribes and successful in other endeavors. They credited their education and experiences at boarding school for some of their achievements. Dr. Carlos Montezuma, the noted Indian physician, worked at Carlisle in 1894–1896. He agreed with Pratt concerning the need for the type of education provided at Carlisle. Another who attended Carlisle from 1890 to 1892 stated that he was well treated and benefited from his attendance. This person was Richard Sanderville, a Blackfoot, who became a skilled interpreter and the founder of the Museum of the Plains Indian at Browning, Montana (Liberty, 1978). Many others, particularly those who were in boarding schools in later years, had only bitter memories of their school days.

Pratt's strict disciplinary methods became outmoded and were much too authoritarian for modern educational philosophy; but, considering the conditions of the late nineteenth century, he worked hard with good intentions and some limited success to solve a complex cultural dilemma. Pratt's faith in the potential of young Indians is expressed in the following quote in *American Indian Magazine* (1916):

> If I was the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and had a superintendent of schools who could not see in every little Indian boy a possible president of the United States, I would dismiss him. (p. 246)

Although much has been written about Carlisle Indian School, it is difficult to find an objective view of this important Indian school. The writings of most whites and the few Indians employed at Carlisle are overly laudatory, presenting only the positive view. Since the early 1960s, Indian and non-Indian writers have held Carlisle and similar schools responsible for many of the problems of American Indians. These persons find little good about the efforts of Pratt and his contemporaries. The truth lies somewhere between these extreme positions. Some of the most objective and fair written material available is a dissertation completed by Pearl Lee Walker-McNeil (1979). She presents evidence to support the following two major hypotheses:

1. The federal program for American Indian education in the United States had its genesis in a policy of forced acculturation exemplified in the founding and operation of the Carlisle Indian Industrial Training School, 1879–1912.
2. The Carlisle Indian School Outing System, as a second culture learning strategy, was critical to the implementation of the boarding school program of forced acculturation. (p. 7)

Walker-McNeil presents both the positive and negative results of the efforts in Indian education and acculturation at Carlisle. In the positive vein, she points out that the Carlisle students demonstrated that Indians were educable and identified education as a key element in the survival of Indians in the competitive industrial society of modern American. Today these points seem self-evident, but they were not widely accepted in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was also concluded that the Outing System at Carlisle was an effective system to promote learning about a second culture. Indians at Carlisle learned to understand and appreciate their civil rights, duties, and liabilities in our democratic form of government. An unintentional product of the contact among the members of the various tribes at Carlisle was the development of a pan-Indian perspective. A result of this was the leadership in pan-Indian organizations exhibited by Carlisle Indians.

The significant negative results of the education at Carlisle listed by Walker-McNeil are also important. The most significant detriment according to most critics was that the educational program and the total environment was aimed at destroying the Indian cultures. The disastrous consequences for individuals and the tribes of this motive was ignored. Pratt did not understand that the Indian culture could be changed to adapt to the changes taking place. Also, separating the young Indians from their heritage

caused them to be contemptuous of their own tribal ways and family. This resulted in their being rejected by many of their relatives. Those who attempted to participate in the white society found their expectations and hopes dashed by white racial discrimination. Pratt had not taught them to be realistic about the attitudes of whites toward Indians. Many students developed loyalty to Pratt and the school which interfered with an objective view of either. Bitterness toward the federal government for closing Carlisle was a common feeling of former students (Walker-McNeil, 1979).

In regard to its defined objectives of functional literacy, vocational skills, and survival in white communities, Walker-McNeil sees Carlisle as a success. The Indians who attended Carlisle did learn to read and write and had some salable skills, but the price they paid to live in a hostile white society was too high to be considered a success. In order to survive they had to give up not only their cultural heritage but their self-respect and behave as the white man defined. Pratt's programs and methods at Carlisle are significant in Indian education because they set a pattern for federal Indian schools for the next fifty years. For better or worse, the off-reservation boarding school was the dominant form of Indian education until the 1930s.

The best known contemporary Indian college in the country is Haskell Indian Junior College which was founded in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1884 as a federal off-reservation boarding school. The school was named for Dudley C. Haskell, a Kansas congressman, responsible for the school being established in Kansas (*Haskell Indian Junior College Bulletin,* 1977–79).

In the early years, Haskell's superintendent, James Marvin, stated that in all classes two points were stressed: how to speak English and how to do all work quickly and well. Haskell was originally an elementary school with a few secondary level vocational courses. By 1921, it offered a four year high school program and was the first federal Indian school to offer education at this level. The first high school class at Haskell graduated in 1923. Later Haskell added postsecondary vocational training in three broad areas of trades, business, and technical. For a number of years Haskell was the only federal Indian school providing work beyond the eighth grade. This is indicative that, in spite of much talk by government officials about the need for more advanced educational opportunities for Indians, almost none was available (Layman, 1942). From 1930 to 1968 the emphasis at Haskell was on the secondary vocational program with a "learn to earn" objective. The later development of Haskell as a junior college is included in the section on federal institutions in Chapter 4.

Almon C. Bacone founded a Baptist college for Indians in the year 1880 in Tahlequah, Indian Territory. The school was originally named Indian University. Its name was changed in 1910 to Bacone College. In 1885, land was donated by the Creek Tribe and the college was moved to Muskogee in the Creek Nation. In 1988 Bacone was still in operation, making it by far the oldest Indian college in the United States.

Bacone was established primarily to train teachers and preachers among the Five Civilized Tribes, reflecting the long standing objective of converting the Indians. The founder stated: "A Christian school planted in the midst of a people becomes one of the most powerful agencies in the work of civilization" (Bode, 1957, p. 43). The first class was awarded bachelor's degrees in 1883.

In the early years of the college, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller became interested in it, and in 1883 she donated $10,000 for the construction of a building on the campus. At that time $10,000 was a substantial amount of money. In June 1885 Rockefeller Hall was dedicated. Its total cost was $24,000, and it provided all the living and learning facilities for the teachers and students of the college. Almon C. Bacone, who died in 1896, stated his philosophy of Indian-white relations simply as "The extermination of a race is unworthy of a Christian people" (Bode, 1957, p. 32). His efforts toward improving the educational opportunities for American Indians were more effective than others who shared his commitment. Athletics were instituted in 1895 at Bacone and in 1896–1897 the primary grades were discontinued. Bacone never limited its enrollment exclusively to Indians, and the proportion of Indians to non-Indians varied considerably over the years. In the period 1895 to 1900, whites outnumbered Indians in the student body. A number of Indian and non-Indian alumni of Bacone have gained fame. Patrick J. Hurley, who was Secretary of War in 1929–1933 and held other high government posts including Ambassador to China in 1944–1945, was one famous Bacone alumnus. Peter McDonald, present Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, and a number of other tribal leaders attended Bacone. Other noted Indian alumni of Bacone include Lloyd House, Navajo, former Arizona State Senator; Al

Momaday, Kiowa, artist and school principal; Joan Hill, Creek/Cherokee, artist; Clarence Acoya, Laguna Pueblo, public administrator; and Acee Blue Eagle, Pawnee/Creek, artist. Blue Eagle, a developer of the "Kiowa style" of painting, founded the art department at Bacone and was instrumental in the development of a number of talented Indian artists in the 1930s (Gridley, 1971).

The college level enrollment at Bacone increased significantly in the post-World War I years. By 1925, some non-Indian students had to be refused admission due to over enrollment. Newly oil rich Indians gave generously to the college during the 1920s, raising the endowment to $900,000 in 1924.

The years between World War I and World War II have been referred to as the "golden era" for Bacone College. After the junior college was revived, it became the only predominantly Indian college in the United States and continued as such until the 1960s. Benjamin D. Weeks served as president of the college from 1918 to 1941, providing outstanding leadership for this small college. In 1943 Earl L. Riley became the first Indian alumnus to serve as Bacone's president (Bode, 1957). Other major changes came about when the elementary school was closed in 1946, and the last high school class graduated in 1957. Thereafter, Bacone was exclusively a two-year institution of higher education. Also in 1957 all restrictions limiting enrollment to persons of Indian blood were eliminated. Bacone has always been a small school. Prior to 1957 its enrollment never exceeded three hundred students, but its fame and influence in Indian education and leadership extends to many parts of the country. Bacone has benefited from being in the area of the Five Civilized Tribes which had supported Indian education so strongly for many years. This is one reason Bacone did not close or become dominated by non-Indians as did so many early Indian colleges. The recent history of Bacone College is presented in Chapter 4.

The only state supported college established specifically for the education of Indians was founded in 1887 in the state of North Carolina. This school, originally known as Croatan Normal School, was founded by the North Carolina General Assembly for the education of the Indians of Robeson County. These Indians, of uncertain origin, were then known as Croatans, but later their tribe was called Lumbee.

W. L. Moore, a well-known local educator, was named the first principal of the school. In the first year the student body consisted of fifteen Indians. The initial enabling legislation provided only $500 for the college. The law provided that if the Lumbees did not provide a building within two years the act would be repealed. With this motivation, the Lumbees worked diligently to raise funds for their school. They purchased one acre of land a mile west of Pembroke, North Carolina, and built a two story frame building with donated materials and labor. In 1889, the General Assembly of North Carolina increased the annual appropriation for the college to $1,000. This meager support continued for several years. The General Assembly appropriated $75,000 in 1921 for construction of a building which was completed in 1923. This structure, known as Old Main, still stood on the campus in 1980. Although it was known as a normal school since its inception, Pembroke was actually an elementary school in its early years. In 1909, high school classes were added, and the school was moved to its present location. Apparently the high school enrollment grew slowly, as in 1924 there were only seven students in the graduating class. Not until 1926 were normal school classes for the preparation of teachers offered, and in 1928 the first normal school class graduated (Dial & Eliades, 1972).

Pembroke has undergone several name changes which reflect the changes in programs and enrollment. It was known as Croatan Normal School until 1911 when it became the Indian Normal School of Robeson County. The first four year college degrees were granted in 1940; and in accord with this milestone, the name was changed to Pembroke State College for Indians. In 1949 the name was shortened to Pembroke State College. Prior to 1945, only Indians of Robeson County were admitted to Pembroke State, but in that year admissions were opened to other American Indians. In 1953, the North Carolina legislature approved enrollment of white students at Pembroke up to forty percent of the total enrollment. The United States Supreme Court ruling of 1954 making segregation of schools illegal caused another change in Pembroke's admission policies. From that time, the college has been open to all qualified students regardless of race (Dial & Eliades, 1972). It is interesting to note that the 1954 Supreme Court decision aimed at providing access to public institutions for minorities also prevented Indians from having their own college that excluded non-Indians.

The existence of this single state supported college for Indians emphasizes the fact that Indian higher education has been viewed as a federal re-

sponsibility even though federal support was not provided at this time. Although a number of southern states established state colleges for Blacks, Pembroke was the only state school of higher education for Indians. The section on public colleges for Indians in Chapter 4 contains the recent history of Pembroke.

A school that was founded in 1878 as a church-related institution for Alaska natives in Sitka, Alaska, later became Sheldon Jackson Junior College. It began as a Presbyterian mission day school which soon closed but was reopened in 1880. Its founder, Reverend John G. Brady, a Presbyterian minister, later became territorial governor of Alaska.

The school was first named Sheldon Jackson Institute, but in 1884 the name was changed to Sitka Industrial School to reflect an increased emphasis on vocational instruction. Later in the same year the school became a government contract school. The stone museum building was built in 1895. It housed the best Alaska collection of that time, and is still one of the top museums in the culture of the Northwest Indian.

Enrollment at Sheldon Jackson in 1908 consisted of 115 native Alaskan students ranging in age from 6 to 21 years. In 1911, the name of the school was again changed to Sheldon Jackson School to honor the work of the pioneer missionary of the same name. The first high school class graduated in 1927, and the high school was accredited by the Northwest Association in 1935 (Armstrong, 1967). The later development of Sheldon Jackson into a postsecondary school is presented in Chapter 4.

All direct federal allocations to religious groups for Indian education ceased in 1917. This marked the end of nearly a century of federal government support of missionary contract schools for the education and conversion of American Indians. This change was the result of the increased responsibility of the United States for providing Indian day and boarding schools, and the increased national emphasis on the doctrine of the separation of church and state. Some forms of indirect federal support of Indian education by religious groups continued until the 1930s.

Church officials hold that they have contributed much to the education and welfare of Indians who have attended their schools. This reflects the missionaries long standing objectives of Christianization and assimilation of their Indian students. Whether these aims are valid depends upon one's historic and philosophical perspective. From the early part of this century to the 1960s most writers were supportive of the church's goals and efforts. An example of this is the following statement by Samuel A. Eliot (1937).

> Too much of the record of the white man's relation to the primitive Americans for the last three centuries has been humiliating, not to say revolting, but the resolute persistence of missionary endeavor has been a bright page in a dark history. It is often, to be sure, a tale of pathetic failure. Often the missions have been obliterated as the tide of migration swept westward, or the best efforts of the missionaries have been defeated by the cruelty and rapacity of the conquering race; but it is still a splendid story that well deserves to be retold. (p. 111)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century most writers on Indian education have seen the efforts of federally supported Indian education by missionaries in a much different light. Their concern for the preservation of Indian cultures in a pluralistic society is the antithesis of the previous missionary efforts to remold the Indian into a Christian white man. This view is exemplified by the following quote from the Indian historian Jack Forbes, as he viewed the government support for Indian church schools during the period 1870 to 1930:

> In spite of the constitutional provisions relating to religious freedom, the federal government conducted a 60-year enforced enculturation that bears comparison to the most notorious eras of religious and social totalitarianism in modern history. (Cited in Pace, 1976, p. *i*)

The period 1870 to 1920 saw a great increase in the federal responsibility for, and support of, Indian elementary and secondary schools but a total absence of federal postsecondary schools for Indians. At the close of this period, there were a handful of small private colleges and one state institution purporting to provide for special higher education needs of American Indians. As in the past, the primary emphasis for all Indian schools was still on assimilation and, to a lessening degree, on Christianization. The only curriculum provided from primary to postsecondary levels was a traditional white program with an emphasis on vocational courses above the elementary level. None of the so called Indian colleges involved Indians in program planning or gave any consideration in their curriculum to the unique heritage of their Indian students.

In 1928 a landmark study of Indian administration officially entitled *The Problem of Indian Administration* and generally known as the Meriam Report for its

major author, Lewis Meriam, was published. The report focused attention on the deplorable condition of educational programs and other services for Indians. James Officer (cited in Waddell & Watson, 1971) wrote of the Meriam Report:

> Without question the most comprehensive and objective survey of the American Indian situation ever made, covering a whole range of subjects related to federal Indian policies and recommending significant changes. (p. 42)

The Meriam Report was particularly critical of the off-reservation boarding schools and the absence of Indian involvement in the planning and management of all federal Indian schools. The highly regimented routine and the cruel punishments to which Indian children were subjected were documented and condemned. It was concluded that the Indians had the lowest educational level of any ethnic group in the United States (Meriam, 1928). As a result of this report, some of the problems were alleviated over the succeeding years; but, as will be seen, many of them still existed more than forty years later.

The majority of the education section of the Meriam Report dealt with elementary and secondary education of Indians, but several short sections addressed higher education, college preparation, and training for nursing, teaching, and clerical work. The following quote is from the section on Higher Education and the Indian:

> More and more Indian youth will go on for education of college and university grade. Already hundreds of Indian men and women are in higher educational institutions; the University of Oklahoma has nearly 200 students with some Indian blood and the increasing number of Indian boys and girls in high school will undoubtedly lead to a corresponding growth in applications for college admission. (Meriam, 1928, p. 419)

This statement proved to be inaccurate; in particular, it was overly optimistic concerning the rate of growth of Indian enrollments in higher education. A more realistic reference to the status of Indian opportunities for higher education in 1928 is contained in another section of the same report:

> Indian boys and girls who graduate from these schools [federal government] at present find it practically impossible to continue their education in acceptable colleges and universities because the colleges cannot take them even when there are persons interested in Indian youth who will provide the funds. (Meriam, 1928, p. 420)

In response to the needs indicated in the Meriam Report, there were some increased opportunities for Indians to enter higher education in the 1930s. Annual federal appropriations were provided in the fields of nursing, home economics, forestry, and other areas. In 1932–33, small amounts of financial aid to advanced Indian students and loans to Indians were appropriated by Congress. By 1933, 161 Indians had been enrolled in higher education through the aid of federal and tribal funds. A few colleges began to offer limited numbers of scholarships for Indians, e.g., five scholarships were available at the University of Michigan (Adams, 1946). In spite of the increased opportunities for Indians in higher education in the early 1930s, Ruth Muskrat Bronson (1932) estimated that in 1932 a total of only 358 Indians were enrolled in United States institutions of higher education. She also determined that there were only 52 known Indian college graduates and that only five colleges were offering scholarships for Indians.

Another result of the Meriam Report and the New Deal was the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. The official title of this act is the Indian Reorganization Act which was a revised version of the original Wheeler-Howard Act. This act is often referred to as the Indian Bill of Rights. It enabled Indian tribes to form a constitution, organize for self-government, form tribal corporations, and conduct business. It also provided a small amount of money ($25,000) for loans to Indian college students. Most importantly the Wheeler-Howard Act finally stopped the loss of Indian tribal lands by superseding the General Allotment Act of 1887.

In response to the needs noted in the Meriam Report, $250,000 of federal funds were authorized in 1934 for higher and postsecondary education of members of Indian tribes reorganized under the Indian Reorganization Act. Contracts between the federal government and states for the education of Indians were authorized in legislation passed in 1936 (Amendment to the Johnson-O'Malley Act, 1936).

John Collier served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs from the beginning of the New Deal era to the close of World War II. His outstanding leadership and knowledge of Indians complemented the effects of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 to initiate badly needed reforms in Indian education. More emphasis was placed on Indian day schools and less on off-reservation boarding schools. For the first time, some respect for the rich cultural heritage of American Indians was shown in Indian schools

and assimilation was de-emphasized. This was promoted by Commissioner Collier, who was one of the first federal officials to see the value of preserving and transmitting Indian arts and beliefs in the schools. This was an important step away from the long held position that all Indian ways and beliefs must be eradicated from Indian students.

The years prior to World War II saw the beginnings of the recognition that Indians should have some voice in the planning and management of their schools. Unfortunately, World War II interrupted the efforts of John Collier to reform Indian schools and move toward a more pluralistic curriculum. During the war, 25,000 Indians served in the armed forces, and many served with distinction in combat units. After their military service throughout the United States and other parts of the world, many returning Indian veterans were dissatisfied with the employment and educational opportunities on their reservations. Defense work had also introduced thousands of Indian men and women to employment and benefits not available at home. Because of their wartime experiences, some Indian veterans wanted better jobs and took advantage of the G.I. Bill (PL 346) by enrolling in higher education or vocational programs (Sando, 1976). An example of the vocational programs was the Hopi silversmithing program that gave impetus to the development of a number of talented silversmiths. The increased interest among Indians in higher education, the development of new programs, and the financial aid provided by the G.I. Bill were important factors in increasing Indian college enrollments after the War (Szasz, 1974). However, the proportion of Indians utilizing veterans educational benefits was significantly lower than among whites, and the attrition rate among Indian students was high.

Some Indian tribes evidenced increased support for higher education in the post World War II years. Twenty-four tribes had established funds for scholarships in higher education by the late 1950s (Holmes & Rosenthal, 1959). In 1953 the Navajo Tribal Council established a scholarship trust fund with an initial appropriation of $30,000. This trust was expanded in 1972 and funds were contracted under the authority of PL 93–638. As of 1987, 4,578 Navajo students were enrolled in higher education with financial assistance from the tribe. The total amount expended on scholarships was $9,697,915 (Morgan, 1988).

After the war, opposition developed in Congress to the increased emphasis on Indian culture in federal schools. There was a growing movement in Congress to decrease the federal responsibility and expenditures for all Indian services, including education. In a broader perspective, legislators began to question the unique relationship between the United States and the Indian tribes. This was partially the result of the increase in successful legal claims by tribes concerning damages accrued over the years since the treaty period. Some governmental leaders believed that reducing the federal government's responsibility for Indian affairs would accomplish two worthy goals. It would benefit the Indians by changing their status as wards of the United States and greatly decrease the expenditures of federal funds for Indian programs and services. It was proposed that the special federal relationship between the United States and the Indian tribes be voided by terminating the tribes as legal entities. This concept became known as the termination policy.

William Zimmerman, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, testified in the early 1950s that ten tribes were ready for termination and twenty others might be ready in five to ten years (Provinse, 1954). The national support for termination of some Indian tribes reached its peak in 1953 with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution #108. This resolution read in part that termination should be undertaken:

> As rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American Citizenship. (HCR #108, 1953, p. 1)

This rather innocuous sounding resolution had serious implications for American Indians, particularly those enrolled as members of federally recognized tribes. The apparent benefits of rights and privileges amounted to nothing because the Indians already had all of these. Had this resolution been implemented, it would have ended essential services which are guaranteed to American Indians by treaties with the United States. It would also have destroyed the base of tribal culture on the reservations. Most Indian leaders were aware of the drastic consequences of termination and, along with their non-Indian allies, fought against its implementation. Fortunately, by 1958, support for termination had lessened and attempts to implement it had waned. The final result of Resolution #108 was the

termination of two major tribes, the Klamath of Oregon and the Menominee of Wisconsin, and 59 small bands and tribes. The termination philosophy also had direct effects on elementary and secondary education for Indians. Federal Indian schools were closed in four states: Idaho, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Washington.

The direct effects of Resolution #108 on Indian higher education were negligible, mainly because so little education for Indians at this level existed. It did have a long range influence on Indian leaders by making them more suspicious of any federal tendency toward reduction of services and responsibility for Indians. Indian leaders are well aware that, although the threat of Resolution #108 passed, the termination philosophy is still held by some legislators and bureaucrats. In the early 1980s, Secretary of the Interior James Watt was promoting an end to "socialism" on Indian reservations for the welfare of American Indians. This reawakened the old fears of federal termination of Indian tribes, and the public outcry of Indians and their supporters was a factor in forcing Watt to resign in 1983.

A concurrent movement affecting American Indians was the effort to relocate reservation and other rural Indians to urban areas. The primary rationale for this action was that there were more jobs in urban areas and that the high unemployment among Indians would be reduced. This was obviously also a continuation of the long standing assimilation policy of the federal government. The concept of Indian relocation had its roots in the pre-World War II years and may have emerged from as far back as concerns stated in the Meriam Report in 1928 (Officer cited in Waddell & Watson, 1971).

By the late 1950s and early 1960s the relocation program had significantly increased the numbers of urban Indians. However, the employment opportunities for unskilled Indians in the cities were generally poor. Many of them moved into slum areas resulting in a high rate of social problems, alcoholism, and drinking-related arrests among these new urban Indians. Many of these relocatees soon left the city and returned to their rural homes with feelings of failure and discouragement concerning their unsuccessful urban experiences.

Although their motivating forces were somewhat different, the termination and relocation policies of the 1950s are related philosophically. As viewed by most Indians, they are simply parts of the overall long term efforts of the white society to destroy the Indian tribal cultures and force Indians to assimilate into the dominant society. The termination and relocation movements are two more in the long list of misguided actions by the white bureaucracy to solve the "Indian problem."

The 1950s and 1960s saw an increased interest in and study of the education of American Indians. This was a result of the widened public awareness of the discriminatory practices of our society. The activism of Blacks, Hispanics and, to a lesser degree, American Indians brought attention to the fact that many members of these minorities were not able to take part in the dream of a good higher education. Most of the studies of this period documented the problems and shortcomings of Indian education, and a few pointed out the advances made. (Studies of contemporary education of American Indians during this period include: Porter, 1955; Artichoker & Palmer, 1959; McGrath et al., 1962; King, 1963; Wheeler, 1966; Selinger, 1968; Berry, 1968; Saslow & Harrover, 1968; Bass, 1969; and the *Kennedy Report*, 1969).

There were an estimated 2,000 Indian students enrolled in colleges and universities of the United States in 1957 (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972). In the same year the first formal study of the problems of Indian college students was conducted in the four year institutions in South Dakota. The investigators found that Indian students have more serious problems than non-Indians and that the problems having the greatest significance for Indians were: poor academic training, especially in mathematics, science, social studies, and English; insufficient funds, particularly for clothing and spending; inability to relate oneself to the future, particularly in educational and career objectives; and concerns about their family members (Artichoker & Palmer, 1957, p. 33).

In spite of advances made in the post-World War II years in opportunities for Indians in higher education and increased enrollments, there was still much to be done to reach parity for this group. Brubacher and Rudy (1958) wrote:

> If we can say, then, that the education of American Negroes has made a slow but very real progress in the years since emancipation, we must acknowledge that the college training of another minority group, the American Indian, has been practically nonexistent in a special or distinct sense. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the United States government agency with the supreme authority for planning an educational program for the tribes, decided early to terminate the schooling of Indian youth at the secondary level. (p. 78)

Following the lead of Haskell, another off-reservation boarding school established a postsecondary program in 1962. This institution, Santa Fe Indian School, was founded in 1890 in Santa Fe, New Mexico and served primarily the Indians of the local Pueblo tribes and Navajos to the west. The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) is a middle college boarding school offering two year college programs to American Indians. It is the only postsecondary institution devoted to the artistic development of American Indians aspiring to careers in the arts. The recent development of this unique federally funded Indian college is given in Chapter 4.

By 1962 the estimated number of Indians enrolled in colleges and universities in the United States had reached 4,000, double the number enrolled five years earlier (McGrath et al., 1962). The increase in Indian enrollments did not produce an equal rate of increase in college graduates. Only 66 American Indians graduated from four year colleges and universities in 1966 (Szasz, 1974). Two factors account for most of the low proportion of enrolled Indians to four year graduates: (a) the high attrition of Indians in four year schools and (b) the increased attendance of Indians at two year colleges. During the decade of the 1960s Indian high school graduates increased significantly, but the increase in college graduates was not significant (HEW, 1974).

Two parallel studies of Indian education in the Northwest and Southwest regions of the country indicated that in the 1960s, 70% of Indian high school graduates continued their formal education. In the Southwest 26% and in the Northwest 29% of Indian high school graduates during this decade were enrolled in academic college programs. Seven to 8% of these students received college degrees (Bass, 1969; Selinger, 1968). This is not as encouraging as it appears because in the 1960s the proportion of high school age Indians graduating from high school was very low. As Astin pointed out, the main factor accounting for the underrepresentation of Indians in higher education is the very high rate of Indian attrition at the secondary level (Astin, 1982).

One of the first written proposals for a truly Indian college was made by the historian Jack Forbes in 1966. He wrote concerning the need for establishment of such an institution:

> It is clear that although some Indians now attend public and private colleges and universities, a problem in higher education still exists. No institution is designed to meet the fundamental needs of the Indian community, which needs an institution of higher education both Indian controlled and Indian centered. (p. 1)

Forbes proposed an inter-tribal, four year university that would provide a wide range of educational programs and services designed specifically to meet the needs of Indians. He believed it was absolutely necessary that the institution be controlled by Native Americans but that federal funds should support it as they do Howard University which serves primarily black Americans. In a few years, Forbes was involved in founding D-Q University, a two year school designed to meet some of the needs he listed in 1966.

The development of Indian tribal businesses, schools, and natural resources in the 1960s increased the shortage of Indian lawyers, physicians, teachers, and business managers to serve the needs of the tribes and their members. To help meet the need for Indian lawyers, the American Indian Law Center was established in 1967 at the University of New Mexico. The Center provides research and training services in law and policy to Indian tribes and their people. Its primary purpose is the advancement of the interest of Indian people through greater knowledge of the law and improvement of tribal government. In 1974 there were 85 students enrolled in this program, and 35 graduated in the 1975 academic year. One year later, 122 Indians were attending 41 schools of law and 47 were scheduled to complete their degrees in 1976–77 (*IERC Bulletin*, 1976).

As of 1979, a total of 370 American Indians and Alaska natives had graduated from law school with assistance from the Special Scholarship Program in Law for Native Americans. The pre-law summer programs have also benefited many tribal court judges, tribal court advocates, and paralegal personnel. Each year in the late 1970s, 150 American Indians and Alaska natives were receiving aid from the Special Law Scholarship. In 1976 the American Indian Law Center (AILC) became an Indian controlled, not-profit corporation separate from the University of New Mexico. It was funded by government contracts, foundation grants, and contracts with Indian tribes and organizations. The AILC has carried out a number of projects since 1967 which have been of value to Indian tribes and individual Indians. As the need for legal assistance in the fields of business and energy resources increases, the services of AILC will gain even greater importance (Deloria, 1979).

An estimated 181 Indians graduated from four year colleges and universities in 1968. This was almost a three-fold increase over two years earlier (Szasz, 1974). Although progress was being made in the numbers of Indians attaining college degrees, the need for educated Indians was still far from being met.

A national investigation of Indian education was undertaken by a special subcommittee of the United States Senate Committee on Education in 1967. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was the initial chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. After Kennedy's assassination in June 1968, his brother Senator Edward Kennedy became chairman. The purpose of the Special Subcommittee was "a complete study of any and all matters pertaining to the education of Indian children" (Senate Report 91–105). The Subcommittee report published in 1969 was a strong condemnation of Indian education as indicated by its title: *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*. Some of the deplorable figures concerning Indian higher education in this study were: only 18% of the students in federal Indian schools went to college compared to a national average of 50%; only 3% of the Indian students who enrolled in college graduated; the national average was 32%; and only 1 of over 100 Indian college graduates received a masters degree (Senate Report 91–105).

The Special Subcommittee on Indian Education (1969) concluded:

> The major findings of the Meriam Report were that (1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs and (2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of services (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs. These two findings remain as valid today as they did more than forty years ago. (p. 13)

The recommendations of the Special Subcommittee were primarily concerned with elementary and secondary education of Indians, but six of these were directly aimed at higher and postsecondary education. Two of the recommendations were to expand Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) scholarship support for Indians in graduate study and to make financial need rather than place of residence the determinant for granting financial aid. Three recommendations were concerned with federal Indian postsecondary institutions. The recommendations were: (a) a graduate institution of Indian languages, history, and culture be established; (b) the Institute of American Indian Art in Santa Fe be raised to the level of a four year school; and (c) the BIA fund an institute similar to IAIA in Alaska. The final higher education recommendation was that Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965 be amended to include recently founded institutions on or near Indian reservations. This final recommendation was implemented providing initial funds for the establishment of new colleges described in Chapter II. Although the changes in the BIA colleges were not implemented, the other recommendations have influenced federal policies and later legislation concerning Indian education.

The Senate Subcommittee concluded that the present unsatisfactory conditions in Indian education, at all levels, were the result of an historic national policy. It stated that this policy had two sources in the history of Indian-white relations: (a) self-righteous intolerance for tribal communities and cultural differences and (b) a continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian lands and resources (Senate Report 91–105, 1969).

Madison Coombs, a former BIA administrator, pointed out in 1970 that the Kennedy Report and other recent investigations of Indian education had overemphasized failures and ignored the long range progress made in Indian education. In particular, he stated that the Kennedy Report was "wholly condemnatory of both the public and federal schools' efforts to educate Indian children" (Coombs, 1970, p. 1). He conceded that Indian education was far from what it should be but emphasized that there were significant advances which had been obscured by slanted and inaccurate reports and articles. He believed that there were political reasons for some persons wanting Indian education to appear more inadequate than it really was. In the area of higher education, Coombs cited the 1968–69 study conducted by the Northwest Educational Laboratory which showed increases in the number of Indian high school graduates entering colleges. He also quoted BIA enrollment figures to support progress in postsecondary education of Indians.

Coombs makes a valid point that politicians often want to stress the shortcomings of other administrations; and Indian education is a good area in which to do this because it plays on the guilt feelings of many liberal Americans. On the other hand, incumbent politicians and federal bureaucrats want their efforts in Indian education to appear in the best possible light. Therefore, almost all governmental investigations and reports on Indian education must

be read with careful consideration of their period in history and the possible vested interests of the writers.

In the 1960s and 1970s the majority of writers on Indian welfare overemphasized the negative aspects of all federal Indian education programs. Coombs was one of the few to make a case for some progress having been made. Although the evidence in Indian higher education supports the view that, as of this era, the institutions and programs provided by the federal government were inadequate, the conditions were not as bad as indicated by most critics who wanted to keep the pressure on the BIA. Progress had been made in the increased Indian enrollments in higher education, but the more meaningful numbers of graduates were still too low to meet the needs of the tribes. All programs for Indians in higher education were still planned and controlled by non-Indians making them unsatisfactory for the education of western tribal Indians.

Summary of Federal Efforts in Indian Higher Education, 1870–1968

During the nearly one hundred years from 1870 to 1968, the federal government grew increasingly dominant in providing Indian education at all levels. The missionary schools, with a few exceptions, closed; and most Indian children who went to school attended public or federal schools. In higher education the proportion of Indian students enrolled in private schools decreased, and Indian enrollments in state colleges and universities grew, particularly in the post-World War II years. The federal government provided no degree granting institutions for Indians until the establishment of two two-year colleges—Haskell Indian Junior College and the Institute of American Indian Art—near the end of this period.

Theodore Fischbacher (1967) in a study of the role of the federal government in Indian education drew the following conclusion:

> The writer concludes that a single purpose underlies the varying federal policies and educational legislation, namely to prepare Indians for full assimilation into the body politic of the United States, and the government is presently employing effective educational means to help them adjust to the dominant culture. (Fischbacher, 1967, abstract)

This indicates a continuance of the century-old assimilation policy with a decreasing emphasis on conversion to Christianity. Whether Fischbacher was correct in his assessment of the effectiveness of this policy and practice in assimilating the Indians is questionable. Brewton Berry wrote in his 1968 summary concerning Indian education:

> That formal education is failing to meet the Indians' needs, that there is widespread dissatisfaction with its results and that the schools are falling short of their goal of preparing the Indian to participate in American society. (p. 8)

It is obvious that during this period the federal government's provisions for Indian higher education were totally inadequate. A few federal dollars were spent on assisting a handful of Indians to attend college, but the number of Indians who actually graduated from college prior to World War II was woefully small.

It is apparent that until the mid-twentieth century federal Indian officials believed secondary vocational education was sufficient for even the most intellectually able Indian youth (Brubacher & Rudy, 1958; Hoxie, 1977). This is evidenced by the fact that Haskell Junior College and IAIA were the only federal institutions of postsecondary education developed during this period. Nearly one hundred years earlier, in 1867, Howard University was founded for the education of freed Blacks. The Blacks also had separate, although definitely inferior, colleges in most southeastern states. The overt prejudice in higher education was generally not as strong against Indians as Blacks, but the lack of responsibility on the part of the federal officials and the conditions on the reservations combined to make Indians the most under represented minority in United States higher education (Astin, 1982).

National studies, notably the Meriam Report (1928), the Senate Special Subcommittee (Kennedy) report (1969), and the National Study of Indian Education (1972) all concluded that there were great inadequacies in federal Indian elementary and secondary education but barely mentioned the even greater deficiencies in higher education opportunities among American Indians. These reports ignored this important aspect of Indian education in spite of the fact that as late as 1960 there were only 2,000 Indians with four-year college degrees. Of course, it is impossible to attain a higher education

without an adequate base at the elementary and secondary levels; but even those few able Indians who completed secondary education in federal Indian schools had few opportunities and little chance of success in higher education. Indian students who graduated from public or private high schools were better prepared and had a higher rate of college attendance and graduation.

Only two church related schools founded during this period or earlier continued to provide postsecondary education which purportedly met the needs of American Indians and Alaskan natives. These are Bacone College founded in 1880 and Sheldon Jackson Junior College founded in 1878. Neither of these schools have Indian planned or managed programs to meet the needs of tribal Indians.

As described in this chapter, the Five Civilized Tribes and several northeastern tribes had a long standing interest in providing good formal education for their people. The Five Civilized Tribes established effective school systems and founded academies to meet their needs for advanced education in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The level of education among the people of these tribes and the leadership developed by these schools contributed greatly to tribal welfare during this period. Unfortunately, the General Allotment Act of 1887 and the subsequent loss of the tribal land base and cohesiveness precluded the continued development of Indian controlled higher education institutions. One example of a potentially effective Indian controlled postsecondary institution was Cherokee Female Seminary founded in 1847 which became Northeastern Oklahoma State University early in the twentieth century.

There was a significant increase in the enrollments of Indians in higher education from the 1950s to the 1970s. The factors responsible for this increase were: increased numbers of young Indians graduating from public and private secondary schools which prepared them better for college programs; the use by Indian veterans of the G.I. Bill; and a number of tribes that initiated tribal scholarship funds. Another major factor influencing the growth of Indian enrollments was the civil rights movement of the 1960s and the resulting affirmative action legislation which forced colleges and universities to seek out Indians who had the potential to attain a college degree.

In summary, this period of federal responsibility for Indian education closed with totally inadequate federal provisions for Indian higher education, two small church related schools with white planned and managed programs, and not one postsecondary institution with an Indian planned and controlled curriculum to meet the unique needs of tribal American Indians. But the future held hope in growing enrollments and numbers of Indian college graduates, improved secondary schools for Indians, awakening tribal interest in higher education, and increased public awareness of the need for better higher education for Indians. A new era in Indian higher education was on the horizon, and the dreams of Indian centered and controlled postsecondary institutions for tribal Indians of the western United States were about to be realized.

Chapter 2

American Indian Higher Education in the 1960s: The Beginnings of Self Determination

The social activism in the United States during the 1960s publicly appeared to involve primarily Blacks and to a lesser degree Chicanos, but it also gave impetus to major changes for American Indians. Among the concerns of the leaders of western Indian tribes were actions needed to improve educational opportunities for their people at all levels including higher education. They no longer were willing to passively accept the inadequate programs offered them at the white controlled public and private institutions. The advent of Indian studies programs during the 1960s was seen by some educated Indians as a major step forward, but these white planned and controlled programs did nothing to meet the postsecondary needs of tribes or their members or to advance self determination in Indian education.

A number of societal conditions in the decade of the 1960s presaged major changes in American Indian higher education. Foremost was the lack of satisfaction by a majority of American Indians with the educational institutions of the states, federal government, and private agencies. Of all the minorities in the United States, Indians were the most underrepresented in higher education and had the highest attrition rate (Astin, 1982). These facts in themselves were indications that changes had to be made to meet the special needs of Indians, particularly those of the west. Attempts to modify white programs were no longer seen as adequate for the special educational and cultural needs of Indians. The basic premise of white education—all persons were to be assimilated into white middle class values and behaviors—was antithetical to tribal desires to preserve some of their culture. This long standing conflict of educational objectives was the primary impetus for the significant changes in Indian higher education.

In examining their current educational opportunities, Indian leaders concluded that federal funds being expended to support federal institutions and Indian programs at white public and private schools could be utilized in other ways to better serve the needs of tribal Indians. The few who were completing college degrees were not returning to their reservations because the only work that allowed them to utilize their education was a few government jobs. This "brain drain" from the reservations was depleting human resources and encouraging some of the best and brightest to leave their tribal homes and the reinforcement of their traditional culture. Something had to be done to provide additional opportunities for meaningful employment on or near the reservations, or tribes would continue to become even more intellectually impoverished.

Black civil activism, commencing in February 1960, influenced the thinking and actions of some Indian leaders particularly in the Northern Plains. The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded by two Chippewa Indians, Dennis Banks and George Mitchell, in July 1968. The activism of AIM culminated in the occupation of the small South Dakota village of Wounded Knee in February to April 1973. Although the overall effects of the civil rights movement was not as pronounced among Indians as it was for Blacks, it did cause them to be more aggressive in fighting for their rights in all areas including education. Initially the Indian movement was considered by some white persons to be primarily the result of a few alienated urban Indians who did not represent the attitudes of the tribal Indians on the reservations. When a number of the respected tribal and religious leaders of the Northern Plains tribes joined the movement during the march on Washington, both Indians and non-Indians began to take the movement for Indian rights more seriously. The actions at Alcatraz, the BIA office in Washington D.C., and at Wounded Knee predictably alienated some whites, but it was necessary to gain improvements in services including education and to get the bureaucrats to listen to the Indian demands. Not all tribal Indians agreed with the methods of AIM and their radical tribesmen which resulted in bitter intratribal conflict, notably among the Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

The decade of the 1960s was a period of economic growth and prosperity in the United States. This affected the Indians by increasing expansion of business and industry on many reservations. In particular, the development of energy resources of oil, coal, and natural gas was initiated on a number of western reservations. The tribal income from these sources increased the need for postsecondary education to manage the development of the new tribal enterprises.

The national prosperity coupled with the pressure from Indian and other civil rights groups promoted the passage of Title III of the *Education Act of 1965* which provided funds for assisting developing institutions of higher education. A related action was the support for Indian self determination by President Richard Nixon. In a September 1968 speech, he stated:

> We must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group and we must make it clear that Indians can become independent of Federal control without being cut off from Federal concern and Federal support. (Nixon, 1969)

This policy was formalized in 1975 by passage of the Self Determination and Assistance Act (PL 93–638) which gave support to Indians for development of postsecondary education programs on their reservations.

A national movement in postsecondary education which strongly influenced the form of self determination in Indian higher education in the 1960s and 1970s was the rapid growth of community colleges. The concept of a two-year college designed to meet the needs of a particular community was being promoted throughout the country. It was evident to some Indian educators that a community college would be ideally suited to meet the needs of people on an Indian reservation (Sando, 1969; Medicine, 1975; Kickingbird, 1976). The community college included both vocational training and the general or transfer education needed by many reservation Indians who previously had not been able to travel the great distances necessary to obtain such studies. The two-year colleges could offer flexible admissions standards, remedial services, and delivery systems tailored to the circumstances peculiar to the non-traditional students on isolated reservations.

In spite of the positive influences mentioned above, there were also significant barriers to the development of Indian controlled community colleges. These were lack of financial and human resources and, to a lesser degree, inadequate physical facilities and difficulty in obtaining accreditation. The latter two problems were overcome by most of the tribal colleges, but the lack of finances continued to be a serious problem for all of these schools.

In concurrence with these social changes which significantly influenced the education of many American Indians, several major federal legislative acts were passed during the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s. This legislation directly aided the development of tribal higher education, particularly on the large western reservations.

As previously noted, the monumental Education Act (PL 89–329) was enacted into law in 1965. Title III of this act provided for the strengthening of developing institutions of higher education, particularly those schools with high proportions of minority students. Most of the tribal colleges obtained funds from this act in their early years and some

continued to do so. A major Indian concern in the awarding of Title III funds was that few of the grants were made directly to tribal colleges. Most of the grants intended for development of tribal colleges were made to accredited four-year schools in the area (Nichols, 1979). The administrators of these sponsoring schools then oversaw the funds provided for the tribal college's development. This reflects the continued paternalistic attitude of federal officials toward American Indians and the management of their education. It appeared that the Title III administrators were insensitive to the educational needs and wishes of Indians and did not judge the tribal college administrators capable of administering their own funds. This caused problems in the tribal colleges receiving their funds in time to make plans for future years.

In 1979 a total of 25 Title III grants were made to developing Indian programs. Seven of these were made to tribal colleges, three direct and four to sponsoring non-Indian schools with some Indian participation. The remaining 18 grants were made to "Indian programs" at predominantly white institutions. Therefore, as of 1979, the great majority of the Title III funds ostensibly granted for strengthening Indian institutions were administered by whites (Nichols, 1979). This unfair condition led to restrictions in later legislation for the support of Indian colleges. In spite of the problems of non-Indian administration of their funds, Title III was important in the early funding of all the tribally controlled colleges when other funds were very scarce.

Another piece of federal legislation that supported the concept of Indian control of Indian education was the Indian Education Act of 1972 (PL 92–318). Although the lack of Indian control and management of Indian education had been considered a serious problem since the Meriam Report in 1928, this was the first legislation to directly address this problem. The Indian Education Act of 1972 is primarily concerned with elementary and secondary education, but it does speak to the preparation of Indian teachers and other professionals. Funds provided for in the 1974 amendments of this act were appropriated to assist American Indian students' study in the field of medicine, law, education, engineering, forestry, and business. In 1976, 104 scholarships were granted to Indians from a pool of 800 applicants in the six fields listed above. Sixty-seven of these grants were awarded to students in professional studies and 37 to those in undergraduate programs. Thirty-eight of the recipients were women and 44 Indian tribes were represented. The average annual grant was $5,000 per student (*HEW News*, 1976). As of 1980, the Office of Education had made over 1,500 grants under this act.

As previously noted, President Nixon had voiced support for Indian self determination in the late 1960s. The Indian Self Determination and Assistance Act of 1975 (PL 93–638) gave legal support to the administration's position. This act provided that the Secretary of the Interior submit a report to Congress including: "a specific program, together with detailed legislative recommendations, to assist the development and administration of Indian-controlled community colleges" (88 Stat., Sec. 203.4). This provision had not been fully implemented as of 1981. Public Law 93–638 is important because it was later used to support legislation which provided for the funding of tribally controlled colleges. This act explicitly provided for Indian self determination by stating its intent was:

> To provide maximum Indian participation in the Government and education of Indian people; . . . to establish a program of assistance to upgrade Indian education; and to support the right of Indian citizens to control their own educational activities. (U.S. Stat. 88; 2203)

As of the late 1960s, powerful social, political, and legislative forces were at work to influence the beginning of self determination in American Indian higher education. The time was ripe for the establishment of the first Indian planned and managed postsecondary institutions since the academies of the Five Civilized Tribes closed in the early years of this century.

The Tribally Controlled Colleges: Higher Education's Best Kept Secret

Navajo Community College

The Navajo Tribe took a momentous step toward educational self determination of Indians by founding Navajo Community College (NCC) in 1968. This landmark institution was an innovative means to meet the long unmet postsecondary educational needs of tribal Indians. It was the first college established by Indians, for Indians. It set a precedent for later Indian controlled community colleges, on or near western reservations. In the following decade, fifteen similar colleges would be founded by other

Indian tribes. Margaret Szasz (1974) wrote: "The late 1960s witnessed the beginning of self determination in Indian education" (p. 156). Even she could not have seen how prophetic this would be for Indian higher education during the succeeding ten years.

Because it was the first tribally controlled college, Navajo Community College's development deserves some detailed discussion of the motivation for its founding and the growth of its curriculum. In order to understand the importance and development of NCC, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the Navajo reservation, its resources, and the persons and agencies involved in the establishment of the college. Most of the 25,000 square mile Navajo reservation is located in northeastern Arizona, but it also extends into the portion of Utah south of the San Juan River and into the northwestern corner of New Mexico. The topography varies from high plateaus to low mountains and is cut by numerous arroyos, and elsewhere networks of deep impassible canyons. The country is generally semi-arid, but heavier precipitation at higher elevations supports the growth of heavier vegetation including large trees. Transportation, except for a few major roads, is poor and communications are often unreliable. The great seasonal variations in temperature cause hardships to the many poorly housed Navajos, and services taken for granted in most of the country are nonexistent or unreliable at best. In spite of the shortcomings of their reservation, the Navajos have much greater natural and human resources than other American Indian tribes. Their huge reservation contains largely undeveloped energy sources of coal, oil, natural gas, and uranium. The 180,000 Navajos along with other native people in the area are becoming a political force. Politicians can no longer ignore their Indian constituents, and more Indians are seeking and gaining public office.

The Navajos on the reservation are employed primarily in livestock raising, farming, unskilled labor, and tribal or federal government jobs. Unemployment is very high, the overall educational level is low, and many families are below the poverty level. The isolated geographical setting and lack of accessible educational services determined to a great extent the need for postsecondary resources and the form they have taken at NCC.

The Navajos have a long history of dedication to education for their people. A few days before his death in 1893, the great head chief, *Hastiin Ch'il Haajin* (Manuelito) said: "My grandchild, education is the ladder. Tell our people to take it" (Underhill, 1853, p. 218). For the past four decades, the Navajos have allocated a relatively large proportion of their efforts and resources to improving educational opportunities for their tribal members.

As with any significant social movement, it is a few dedicated leaders who step forward and initiate action. In the early 1960s, Navajo leaders began discussing the possibility of founding their own college on the reservation. Some of them had long hoped to have a college planned and controlled by the Navajo People. Two tribal chairmen, Peter McDonald and Raymond Nakai, supported this movement. Other leaders instrumental in planning and founding NCC were Guy Gorman, Allen Yazzie, Dillon Platero, and Ned Hatathli, who became the first Navajo president of NCC. Tribal Judge Chester Yellowhair, Dr. Howard Gorman, and Dean Jackson were other tribal leaders deeply committed to allocating tribal resources to the establishment of this unique institution.

In addition to the Navajo leaders named above, two other persons responsible for bringing this dream to fruition were Robert Roessel and his wife Ruth. Robert, a non-Indian, was director of Rough Rock Demonsration School, an experiment in Navajo self determination at the elementary level. He is an energetic and outspoken advocate for Navajo self determination in higher education. Ruth Roessel, a Navajo with exceptionally deep understanding of the culture of her tribe, was responsible for planning and directing the Navajo Studies Program, writing text materials, and later collecting materials for the future cultural center. Sanford Kravitz and Richard Boone, two Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) officials, were strong supporters of Navajo self determination in education and were instrumental in obtaining initial OEO funding for Navajo Community College. The Navajo Tribe allocated $25,000 to the college and agreed to continue support.

From its inception, Navajo Community College was an independent institution. It was not, as were later tribal schools, tied to a sponsoring institution of higher learning. Assistance and advice were obtained from the staffs at Northern Arizona University and Arizona State University (ASU)-Tempe. Faculty at ASU wrote a supportive feasibility study for the Navajo Tribe in 1966, but there was no official affiliation with this institution.

From 1968 to 1971, Navajo Community College was funded by OEO grants, Titie III money, appro-

Ned Hatathli Cultural Center
Navajo Community College
Tsaile, Arizona, 1982

priations from the Navajo Tribe and small grants from private agencies. The college shared facilities with the Bureau of Indian Affairs secondary school at the small town of Many Farms for five years. The enrollment grew and NCC soon outgrew its temporary location.

A major step was taken in the financial stability of NCC in 1971 with the passage of the Navajo Community College Assistance Act (PL 89–192). This act provided that federal funds be authorized for support of a community college for members of the tribe and other qualified persons. Funds were appropriated for operating costs and for construction of facilities on a permanent campus. Although the funds allocated were not sufficient to fully support the operation of NCC, PL 89–192 set a precedent for federal funding of a tribally controlled college and made NCC more fiscally stable.

In 1973, the college moved to its new permanent campus at Tsaile in the mountains of northeastern Arizona. The campus is on 1,200 acres in a beautiful isolated setting with the Lukachukai Mountains to the east and the spectacular canyons and prehistoric Anasazi ruins of Canyon de Chelly nearby.

The Tsaile campus was designed in accordance with traditional Navajo beliefs and customs. Most of the permanent buildings are eight-sided to reflect the traditional octagonal Navajo dwelling known as a hogan. The main building, the Ned Hatathli Cultural Center, is an impressive six story octagonal building covered with panels of copper colored glass. This building dominates the campus, and its modern materials contrast with a nearby log and sod hogan used for healing ceremonies (photo). The Cultural Center, named for the late president Ned Hatathli, houses offices, meeting rooms, class-

rooms, a museum covering two floors, and a repository for sacred Navajo paraphenalia and recordings of chants. The college library, also octagonal, contains a modest but well organized collection of materials. Resident students are housed in ten octagonal residence halls, each accommodating thirty students. The Tsaile campus is isolated from population centers; in fact, there is no town near the site and few services are available. The nearest town, Chinle, Arizona, is twenty-five miles to the southwest near the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. Although the isolation at Tsaile poses transportation problems for students and staff, the setting is conducive to study and has a religious significance for the Navajos.

Robert Roessel, former director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, was named founding president of NCC in 1968. Roessel was judged to be the best person available to lead the school through its first year. Ruth Roessel directed the college's Navajo Studies Program for the first two years.

In 1969, Ned Hatathli, a Navajo leader supported by Roessel, succeeded him as president of Navajo Community College. He proved to be an effective administrator leading the college through its early years. President Hatathli stressed the necessity of Navajo control of the NCC administration. He stated:

> The Anglos should not be in the driver's seat. They should not be the ones directing and controlling this college. Most Anglos will find it very difficult to be satisfied in a relationship which places them in an advisory capacity and not in a decision making role. (Hatathli, N., April 21, 1970)

Roessel continued to be active and influential at NCC during Hatathli's tenure. He served the college in fund raising and promotion. Unfortunately, President Hatathli died suddenly in 1972. His death deprived the Navajo Tribe of one of its best educational leaders. Hatathli's successors were Thomas Atcitty and Donald McCabe, both Navajos. Their administrations saw the college grow in enrollments, but ended in turmoil caused by low faculty and student morale. In 1979, Dean Jackson was appointed the fourth permanent president of NCC. Jackson's education, experience, and personality prepared him well to serve as the leader of NCC. His administration began with high hopes that the school would become more stable and that morale would improve. The next few years showed that NCC, in spite of the problems of higher education in the 1980s, grew and strengthened its faculty, students and programs.

Lloyd L. House (1974), in his history of NCC, stressed that if the college was to attain its goals it must be controlled by Navajos. President Jackson's administration worked toward developing a competent Navajo administrative staff, but he did not believe an exclusively Navajo administration or faculty was best for Navajo Community College.

Published enrollment figures for NCC are often inaccurate and lack consistency in various reports and publications, but it is evident that the college grew significantly in its first decade. The best estimates of Fall enrollments indicate an increase in student headcount from 311 in 1969 to 1,097 in 1978 (NCC, 1988). Some enrollment reports mix Fall enrollments with totals for Spring and Fall which confuse the reader. The reported enrollment in Fall of 1986 was a headcount of 1,640 students (NCC, 1988). Of the total, 470 were full-time and approximately 80% were American Indians. The increase in the proportion of non-Indians enrolled at NCC may indicate an increased respect for the college among Anglo persons. Table 2 provides the headcount enrollment figures obtained from Pres. Dean Jackson in 1988.

Table 2
Navajo Community College Enrollment 1969–1988

Year	Spring	Fall	Total
1969	301	311	612
1970	453	498	951
1971	438	495	933
1972	523	563	1086
1973	387	412	799
1974	677	736	1413
1975	1014	1099	2113
1976	1177	1500	2677
1977	1700	944	2644
1978	990	1097	2087
1979	1776	1609	3385
1980	2222	2074	4296
1981	2744	1221	3965
1982	1991	1419	3410
1983	1747	1356	3103
1984	2077	1502	3579
1985	2214	1330	3544
1986	1827	1640	3467
1987	1842	1786	3728
1988	1865	1405	3270

Source: Jackson, Dean C. (16 Nov 1988) Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona.

In 1981, 68 persons received associate degrees and 50 were awarded certificates in non-degree programs at NCC. This compares to a total of seventeen degrees and certificates a decade earlier in 1971. Much of the increase in enrollment and graduates in the late 1970s and early 1980s is attributable to the opening of a branch of NCC at Shiprock, New Mexico in 1973. In the Fall of 1975, 270 students were enrolled at the Shiprock Branch (NCC, 1976). In addition to the students at Shiprock, a number of Ute Mountain Ute Indians attended classes held on their reservation at Towaoc, Colorado. In spite of these extension efforts, Navajo Community College, as of the early 1980s, was still primarily a centralized institution as opposed to the dispersed organization established at most of the succeeding tribally controlled colleges.

The primary criteria of success of an institution of higher education is how well it is attaining its stated objectives. The objectives of Navajo Community College as listed in the *1975–77 Catalog* were to provide: basic programs for students who plan to go on to a bachelor's degree; vocational-technical training programs; community services and development; assistance and consultation to the public, church, and BIA schools and organizations; encouragement to Indian students to develop and preserve a pride in their heritage; and service as a center for the development of Indian culture with emphasis on the Navajo (p. 9). It is important to note how similar these objectives are to those of later tribally controlled colleges. This may be the result of the influence of NCC's statement on later schools or indicative of the similar unmet postsecondary needs of other western tribes. As of 1982, there were not sufficient data to determine how well all of these objectives were being met, but some can be examined.

A follow-up study of persons who graduated from NCC from 1970 to 1980 provides data on the 859 graduates during this period. Of the 750 (87.3%) who continued their formal education, 50% transferred to schools in Arizona. Approximately 140 (18.7%) attained bachelor's degrees, 11 (1.5%) masters, 1 doctorate, and 1 medical degree. A total of 78% had returned to the Navajo Reservation, and the majority (50.5%) were employed in the field of education (U.S. House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, 1983). Without previous baseline data it is difficult to determine how well NCC is meeting its objective of providing general education programs for students who plan to go on for further education. The proportion of NCC graduates continuing their education is high, but less than 20% have attained degrees. However, considering that many of the top Navajo high school graduates matriculate at other colleges and that some of the persons studied still had time to graduate this may not be too low. The fact that one-half of the graduates are in education and 78% have returned to the reservation indicates that NCC is contributing to the need for more Navajo teachers. As of 1980 only 5% of the 6,000 teachers on the reservation were Navajo, so there is still much to be done to increase self determination in the schools serving Navajo children (Kidder, 29 May 1984).

The degrees and certificates offered at NCC are reflective of the needs of the Navajo Tribe and its members. Associate of Arts and Associate of Science degrees are offered in the following areas of study: allied health sciences, studio arts, arts and humanities, secretarial, business administration, and special education. Associate of Applied Science degrees are available in automotive mechanics, and certificates of proficiency in several other vocational fields (*NCC Catalog*, 1975–77). The vocational programs did not prosper in the 1970s and early 80s for several reasons. The major deterrent was that they had strong competition from off-reservation BIA programs that were more attractive to young Navajos (House, 1974). In addition to the regular two-year and certificate programs, NCC provided the following special programs and services: Navajo Resource Center, Community Service, Career Opportunities Program (COP), and Navajo Community College Press.

An important aspect of any educational institution is the characteristics of its students. As would be expected, Navajo Community College students are unique in several ways. Although the college does not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, religion or ethnic background, as of 1984, 80% of the students were American Indians, 17% were white, and Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians made up the remaining 3%. This was an increase of whites from the earlier years of the college. The students at NCC are older than traditional undergraduates. Few Navajos enter NCC directly from high school. Most enter after attending another college or working for a few years. In the mid 1970s, the college was not highly thought of by most academically-oriented Navajo high school graduates (House, 1974). As of 1983, the school's reputation had improved some, but it was still working to gain full confidence of the Navajo People (Kidder, 29 May 1984).

The great majority of Navajo students at NCC come from homes far below the national poverty level and from families whose formal education is very limited. Considering the high rate of unemployment on the reservation, it is not surprising that few of the students at NCC can pay any significant part of the cost of their education. Nearly all of the students qualify for federal grants and/or loans, and Navajo tribal grants assist those who cannot qualify for federal aid.

In spite of the barriers mentioned above, many of the students at NCC are accomplishing their two major goals of vocational preparation for survival in the world of today and a reinforcement of their traditional Navajo culture. The courses in Navajo language, Navajo history and culture, Navajo arts and crafts, and Navajo psychology provide the opportunity for young people to learn about and gain an appreciation for their rich cultural heritage. Navajo Community College provides a postsecondary setting where the Indian student may see his heritage as an integral part of the curriculum. This is one of the most significant results of this first attempt at self determination in Indian higher education. The college is also providing valuable leadership experiences for the future leaders of the Navajo Nation.

The major obstacles to NCC's fulfilling its potential over the years have been lack of funding and the conflicts in administrative decision making. From 1971 to 1978 the college was funded through annual appropriations from the U.S. Congress under the Navajo Community College Assistance Act, Office of Economic Opportunity grants, allocations from the Navajo Tribe, and decreasing donations from private agencies. Funding has been an annual crisis at NCC, making it impossible to make any long range plans. Some faculty and staff did not know whether or not they would be reemployed for the next academic year until late spring or summer.

In 1978, through the efforts of tribal leaders and educators with the coordination of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, the United States Congress passed Public Law 95–471, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act. This act provided for the appropriation of funds for all qualified tribally controlled colleges based on the number of full-time equivalent Indian students enrolled at each school.

Since the first funds were received from PL 95–471 in 1980, it has been an important source of support for the first tribal college. In the first year 1980, NCC received $6,405,000 based on 1,600 full-time equivalent Indian students enrolled. Recalculation of the FTE at Navajo Community College reduced the full-time Indian enrollment to 793 warranting an allocation of only $2,500,000. Although NCC was not required to return funds, the full-time equivalent Indian enrollment in 1981 qualified NCC for an allocation of only $3,172,000. As of 1988, the allocation from Public Law 95–471 was approximately $4,000,000. The allocations from PL 95–471 have not been sufficient to fully fund NCC, but it has provided a more stable funding base.

A major milestone in the development of Navajo Community College was its attainment of accreditation by the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges in 1976. It became the first tribally controlled institution to be fully accredited as a two-year college (*AIHEC Newsletter,* 1976). This endorsement aided students in receiving financial aid and in transferring credits to four-year schools. The self-study required for this accreditation gave the college a more sharply focused direction and was encouraging to the faculty and staff. The fears of some persons at NCC that they would have to give up their uniqueness to become accredited proved to be unwarranted. This accreditation encouraged other tribal schools that they too, could become accredited while retaining their unique characteristics.

In addition to the lack of funding and the time and expense to become accredited, other problems beset NCC during its first decade. These included lack of variety in curricular offerings, poor morale among some non-Indian faculty, and the high rate of turnover in faculty and administration. The latter situation was the most serious because it affected the operation of the entire college. The college had four presidents and one acting president in its first nine years. This lack of continuity at the top level was partly due to the inexperience of the Navajo administrators in higher education administration. There was also a high rate of turnover among faculty. In 1978, there were sixty-one faculty at NCC, twenty-eight of whom resigned during the 1977–78 academic year (Roessel, 1979). It was also evident that the NCC Board of Regents had become too involved in the daily administration of the college and that politics and nepotism had adversely influenced the selection and performance of the administrators, as well as other administrative decisions. The NCC Board of Regents is composed entirely of Navajos including several members of the Tribal Council and the president of the NCC student body. The chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council strongly influ-

enced the members of the Board of Regents and therefore the major decisions made by the board. The president and the board made nearly all of the decisions, leaving little authority for the faculty. Faculty, particularly those who had taught at other colleges, were dismayed at the lack of faculty participation in decision making at Navajo Community College.

The majority of the faculty and staff at NCC have worked diligently over the years to overcome the problems mentioned above and should be given credit for the progress in surmounting the barriers to reaching the school's goals. In spite of usually short tenures, and lack of power, most administrators, Navajo and non-Indian, have made major contributions to the institution and its students. The staff at NCC had an impact beyond their college through preparation of materials for use at other tribal colleges. The Navajo Community College Press pioneered in the publication of materials for use in the study of the Navajos.

Over the years at NCC an underlying issue has divided the faculty, staff, and students resulting in disagreement and a dilution of effort toward a unified mission. The issue concerns how much emphasis should be placed on Navajo cultural studies versus studies which emphasize academic preparation for further education in the dominant white culture. Navajos who support the view that priority should be given to the study of the art, history, religion, and psychology of the Navajo people say that the knowledge and values of the white majority are available at any one of a thousand colleges in the country. If NCC is to best serve its people, it must provide what is not available at other schools, and is being taught in increasingly fewer Navajo families. Therefore, they support Navajo Studies as the top priority and believe it should be required of all students at NCC. As would be expected, they want a faculty and administration composed mainly of Navajos who are well versed in the Navajo culture. Some look down on acculturated Navajos who have not been raised in the traditional manner. One man told the writer that a man who had not herded sheep as a boy was not a real Navajo. They hold that the college should be operated in accordance with Navajo beliefs and values and not controlled by white traditions of higher education. This view has strong support among older Navajos who have much power on the reservation plus some traditional younger persons who are concerned about the loss of the Navajo language and customs.

Conversely, there are some Navajos, particularly younger more assimilated persons, who agree that NCC should offer and promote Navajo studies, but that top priority should be given to academic skills and knowledge that will prepare the students to compete in the white world beyond the reservation. They believe the future of the Navajo people is dependent upon an education for some degree of assimilation. In order to accomplish this, top priority must be placed on academic skills such as reading, writing and mathematics so the students can go on to higher levels of education and vocational preparation. If Navajos qualified to teach these subjects are not available, non-Indians should be employed.

Between these two extremes is a middle position that is the official public view of NCC and some of its faculty and administration. This position holds that cultural reinforcement and preparation to continue education and be competitive in the dominant culture are not mutually exclusive. Navajo Community College can offer its students the best of two worlds. Dean Jackson shared this view. He did not see the transmission of traditional culture and a solid curriculum as necessarily being in conflict. In fact, he felt they could support each other. He saw the primary mission of the college as meeting the unique needs of the Navajos including the need of the majority for remedial courses in English and mathematics. In keeping with this position Jackson did not propose an all Navajo faculty because NCC students need to learn from both Navajos and non-Navajos (Kidder, 29 May 1984).

This is an age old issue for cultures which exist within a dominant culture. Within some American Indian tribes it has resulted in a split between the traditionals and the progressives. Among the Hopis it caused groups to split into separate villages. The Navajo People have a long history of adaptation to other cultures, and it is likely that this issue will be resolved without a division. Navajo Community College has an opportunity to provide a curriculum that enables the Navajo student to reinforce his/her cultural heritage while preparing for a future in the dominant white culture.

Outside the Navajo reservation and tribe, Navajo Community College has set a precedent that gives hope to other tribes that they may also establish a community college to meet the needs of their people. As of the mid-1980's, NCC was the largest and best supported tribal college, but other younger schools were thriving and meeting the needs of their people as well. The pattern set by NCC in

1968 and the development of the later tribally controlled colleges is described in the remainder of this chapter.

Tribal Colleges of the Sioux Tribes

During the 1960s, the social and political pressures previously mentioned in regard to the Navajos were influencing the educational plans on other western reservations. The tribes which next considered following the example of the Navajos in founding their own community colleges were those on the large sparsely settled reservations in the Northern Plains. Among these were four Sioux groups in North Dakota and South Dakota which started plans for a college concurrently with the Navajo. The first two founded after NCC were Oglala Sioux Community College, founded as the Lakota Higher Education Center at Pine Ridge in 1970, and Sinte Gleska College established by the Rosebud Sioux in 1971. These two schools have similar goals, missions, and histories reflecting the similar conditions and postsecondary needs of the Oglala Sioux and Rosebud (Sicanju) Sioux on their adjacent reservations in southern South Dakota.

These colleges differ from NCC in that they were developed with a dispersed format for delivery of postsecondary programs and services to their people. Rather than having a central residential campus as NCC has at Tsaile, they have an administrative headquarters with a few educational facilities, but the majority of the classes and services are dispersed in learning centers throughout the reservation. This plan is well suited to their sparsely populated reservations with poor roads and little public transportation. This system brings the programs close to the residences of most of the tribal members and makes an expensive residential campus unnecessary. The most serious shortcomings of a dispersed system are the difficulty of providing needed educational resources and facilities at all of the learning centers. For example, it is not feasible to offer laboratory and some vocational programs at each of the learning centers, and adequate libraries are not available at all centers. Therefore, some programs and services must be centralized at one or two sites. It also complicates the coordination of faculty and programs. In spite of these disadvantages, the dispersed system of delivery has proved to be the most effective for the people and conditions of the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations.

Oglala Lakota College

In contrast to NCC which started as an independent institution with little outside assistance, Oglala Sioux Community College (OSCC) had considerable help from other schools and individuals. In 1969, the Oglala Sioux Tribe invited staff members from the University of Colorado (CU) at Boulder to serve as consultants and resource persons for the development of a community college on their reservation. Three of the CU staff members who were most active in the planning and establishment of the college were Bob Hunter, Phil Roose, and Howard Higman. By the summer of 1970, college courses were being offered at a CU branch campus on the Pine Ridge Reservation. This branch evolved into OSCC.

One of the persons most responsible for the founding of OSCC was Gerald One Feather who was serving as tribal president in 1971. He and a few other members of the tribe had dreamed of having their own college to serve the postsecondary needs of their people. When this dream became a reality in 1970, One Feather was named the founding president. He was succeeded by Thomas Shortbull who served for four years; Elgin Bad Wound became the third president in 1979.

The first board of trustees of the college consisted of Birgil Kills Straight, Hattie Twiss, Helmut Jacobs, Ray Howe, and Norman Rogers. These persons worked hard to establish the new college for the tribe. Off the reservation, Dr. Keith Jewett, Academic Dean at Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota, was strongly supportive of the Oglala Sioux in their efforts to develop their own college. He worked out a bilateral agreement whereby the OSCC could offer classes for credit through Black Hills State College. In the early years, the OSCC administrators also established affiliations with South Dakota State University, Brookings, and the University of South Dakota, Vermillion. These affiliations set the pattern for the development of all succeeding tribally controlled community colleges.

In accordance with its system of decentralized delivery of postsecondary education, OSCC offers courses at nine college centers distributed throughout the reservation. Only the science laboratories are centralized at the headquarters building on Three Mile Creek near the town of Kyle, South Dakota. The modern headquarters building is an attractive structure set away from other buildings (photo). It was originally planned to house the BIA offices, the Oglala Sioux tribal administration, and

Piya Wiconi
Oglala Sioux Community College
Three Mile Creek, South Dakota, 1982

OSCC; but when the former two agencies withdrew from this agreement, the college fell heir to the entire building. The center at Three Mile Creek is named Piya Wiconi in the Lakota language which translates to "new beginnings" in English. This refers to the new opportunities offered by the community college to the Oglala Sioux people. The Piya Wiconi Center was designed by Sioux architect Dennis Sun Rhodes who emphasized circular forms rather than straight lines and angles. Rhodes (1980) stated:

> The circle, a derivative of the earth, is the symbol of continuance, rejuvenation, and renewal. Like the earth it has a connotation of goodness and wholeness . . . Indians have a revulsion to walls, square boxes and especially corners. When Indians begin to live in square boxes they will no longer be Indians. (President's Report, 1980, p. 8)

Oglala Sioux Community College grew rapidly in enrollment during its first decade of operation. The total enrollment at all college centers grew from 150 part-time students in 1970 to 100 full-time students and 203 part-time students in 1973. By 1978 there was a total headcount of 368 students of whom 319 were Indians. In the Fall of 1982, the total headcount had reached 665 of whom 90% were American Indians (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984).

Associate degrees were offered in the following areas of study: general studies, social sciences, agriculture, home living, business, education, Lakota studies, psychiatric technology, and registered nursing. A GED diploma program was also available for non-high school graduates.

In 1978, OSCC attained candidacy for accredita-

tion status with the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools enabling the college to offer credit and associate degrees. The final step in accreditation took place in 1983 when the North Central Association granted OSCC the authority to grant four-year bachelor's degrees. The name of the college was changed to Oglala Lakota College (OLC) to reflect its move to four-year status. At the 1982 spring graduation, Rhonda Two Eagle, the first student to receive a bachelor's degree from OLC graduated in elementary education. The courses she took on the Pine Ridge Reservation were accredited through an agreement with Black Hills State College. At this graduation 28 students received Associate of Arts degrees, 8 were awarded nursing certificates, 22 attained vocational certification, and 112 earned GED diplomas. This total of 171 persons who reached their educational goals was impressive evidence of the contributions OLC was making to the Indian and non-Indian residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation (OSCC Graduation Program, 1982).

Oglala Lakota College is one of the few tribally controlled colleges to have any systematic follow-up data on its graduates. During the period 1974 to 1981, 163 persons received two-year degrees from OSCC. Of these, 85% were women and 89% were American Indians. Education, nursing, and general studies had the largest percentage of the total graduates with 37%, 24%, and 15%, respectively. A follow-up of these graduates showed that 30, or 18%, of them went on to receive bachelor's degrees and four, or 2%, had attained master's degrees. Of the 39 nursing graduates, 24 had passed the Registered Nurse State Board Examination (*OSCC Graduation Survey Statistics*, 1981). Comparing these data with the high attrition rate of Oglala Sioux students who attend off-reservation institutions indicates that the persistence is much higher at this tribally controlled college. The purposes of OLC are to provide adequately prepared human resources to serve the tribe; to prepare the students to earn a livelihood; to provide a Lakota perspective through the entire curriculum and as a separate field of study; to conduct research, as far as resources allow, in the Lakota language and culture; to raise academic standards among students and faculty while continuing an open enrollment; and, finally, to contribute to community development needs on the reservation (OSCC, 1981–1982). These purposes are similar to Navajo Community College and the later tribal colleges but are broader and somewhat more ambitious than those of the other schools.

As with the other tribal colleges, Oglala Lakota College has had serious difficulty in obtaining sufficient funding to meet its objectives in serving the Oglala Sioux people. It has had to rely mainly on a variety of federal programs and grants plus some support from the Oglala Sioux Tribe, and small grants from private sources. In fiscal year 1980, the college received $833,703 from PL 95–471 based on a full-time Indian student equivalent of 282 students. This appropriation provided the college a significant increase in its funding and enabled it to provide new services and programs (Olivas, 1981).

Sinte Gleska College

Sinte Gleska College, founded by Rosebud (Sicanju) Sioux on their reservation in 1971 has a similar history and objectives to its slightly older neighbor at Pine Ridge. Sinte Gleska (Spotted Tail in English) was a noted chief of the (Sicanju) Band of the Sioux. The college was named for him because of his contributions to the tribe and the sacrifices he made during the difficult transition from the nomadic hunting existence to life on the reservation.

As early as the 1950s, the need for postsecondary education on the Rosebud Reservation was evident to the Sioux leaders. The dropout rate of Sioux students attending off reservation colleges was excessively high. Tribal leaders realized that a bridge was needed between the reservation secondary schools and the off reservation colleges and universities. The nearest state four year college was 240 miles from Rosebud, and the difference in culture between the reservation and the predominantly white campus was even greater. The local people needed academic and social preparation to increase their chances of success in a strange and sometimes hostile environment.

In 1966, a proposal was written by members of the Rosebud Sioux Tribe to found a community college on the reservation, but it was not until 1969 that action was initiated to establish such an institution. A committee composed of staff members from the University of Minnesota, Notre Dame, and the University of South Dakota assisted tribal members in the initial planning. The local persons who were most instrumental in founding Sinte Gleska College and/or served on the first staff were Stanley Red

Administration Building
Sinte Gleska College
Rosebud, South Dakota, 1982

Bird, Lionel Bordeaux, Gerald Mohatt, Lester Two Hawk, James Tydings, Isadore White Hat, Joe Marshall, and Sherry White Owl.

It was hoped that a postsecondary education institution on the reservation would increase the number of educated Rosebud Sioux who would remain on their reservation to contribute to their tribe and its members. Prior to this time, work opportunities for educated Indians on the reservation were limited to a few federal positions.

Sinte Gleska College serves an area composed of four large counties in south-central South Dakota. In 1971, the first year courses were taught at Sinte Gleska, these counties had a population of approximately 23,000 persons of whom 7,500 were Indians. One-half of the Indian population was under sixteen years of age, indicating the future need for postsecondary education on the Rosebud Reservation. In the first few years, most of the students attended part-time. In 1973, of a total headcount enrollment of about 300, only 52 were full-time. The first graduation ceremony was held for two students in August 1973 (*Center of Indian Studies, Black Hills State College*, n.d.). A total of 337 students were enrolled at Sinte Gleska in 1977–78. The number of full-time students increased from 105 in 1977 to 157 in 1981, and the total enrollment in the fall of 1982 was 246, of whom 81.7% were American Indians (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984).

Although Sinte Gleska College was founded primarily as a two-year college, its founders did not limit its mission or curriculum to two-year programs. From its inception, it was seen as a school to meet the postsecondary educational needs of the

Rosebud Sioux and other residents of the reservation at whatever levels of education it could provide. Four-year degrees were seen as a definite possibility and, perhaps, even graduate work in the future.

Sinte Gleska developed a dispersed delivery system for its educational programs similar to that at nearby OSCC. Classes were offered in communities on and near the Rosebud Reservation, including the town of Rosebud where the administrative offices were located in an old Indian agency building (photo). Most of the physical facilities are old and poorly maintained.

The college faculty and administration see the institution as going far beyond the traditional vocational emphasis of a community college. The major efforts of the college are placed on transfer education, cultural reinforcement, and service to the tribe and community.

In the late 1970s, the college offered Associate of Arts degrees in several fields, an associate degree in nursing, and bachelor's degrees through the University of South Dakota. The first Associate of Arts degrees were granted in 1973. In the spring of 1979, 36 persons received Associate of Arts degrees. Two Sinte Gleska bachelor's graduates had received master's degrees, one was in a doctoral program, and one in law school as of 1980. Many Sinte Gleska College graduates have remained on the reservation. They are primarily employed by tribal programs, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Health Services, local schools, and Sinte Gleska College (Center of Indian Studies, Black Hills State College, 1979).

In 1983, Sinte Gleska College became fully accredited as a four-year college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools. It was the first tribally controlled college to be accredited at both the baccalaureate and associate levels (*Wassaja*, 1983). This was an important milestone in the history of tribally controlled colleges as it set a precedent for other schools. Oglala Lakota College also received four-year accreditation later the same year.

Until 1978, Sinte Gleska College received most of its funding from a variety of small federal grants and educational programs. After 1980 appropriations from PL 95–471 became by far the largest single source of funding. Funds from PL 93–638, the Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975, supported the Adult Basic Education (ABE) program at the college; and monies authorized by the Synder Act, 1921, were budgeted and allocated through the contracting provisions of PL 93–638. The funds from these two sources totaled 36% of the revenue for Sinte Gleska in fiscal year 1977, but by 1982 they had decreased to 16%. As shown in Table 3, Sinte Gleska received $551,851 from PL 95–471 in fiscal year 1980 which was 37% of the total operating budget for that year. These data show how dependent Sinte Gleska College is on federal funding and recently on PL 95–471 in particular.

Sinte Gleska differs from other tribally controlled colleges in the character of its faculty and programs. The faculty at Sinte Gleska in the early 1980s had a strong humanistic orientation. The administration and staff wanted to go beyond training persons for jobs to develop leaders who were divergent thinkers and excelled as analytical problem solvers. It was expected that this form of education would prepare them to be the type of leader needed by the Rosebud people in the years ahead. The faculty members at Sinte Gleska placed more emphasis on research and publication than did those at other tribally controlled colleges. The faculty has made contributions in the areas of language and mental health and has worked with the medicine men on the Rosebud Reservation (Mohatt, 1982). A major strength of Sinte Gleska since its founding has been an exceptionally well-qualified faculty who have worked diligently to provide good educational programs and services. The attrition rate of Indian students at Sinte Gleska College in 1982 was 13% to 28% as compared to 50% among Indian students at off-reservation colleges and universities. This is indicative of the success of Indian students at Sinte Gleska and probably other tribal colleges for which retention data are not available (*Sinte Gleska Self-Study*, 1982).

These first two Sioux tribal colleges set a pattern for the establishment of such institutions by other Northern Plains tribes. These tribes do not have the natural or human resources of the Navajo Tribe and have somewhat different educational and cultural needs. Their pioneering in the establishment of bilateral agreements with sponsoring institutions of higher education facilitated accreditation, the transfer of their students to four-year schools, and the acquisition of educational resources. Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska College were also the first two-year tribal colleges to become accredited to offer four-year bachelor's degrees.

To the north of Pine Ridge and Rosebud are two other large Sioux reservations with similar environments and educational needs. These are the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota and South Dakota and the nearby Cheyenne River Sioux

Standing Rock Sioux Skill Center
Standing Rock Community College
Ft. Yates, North Dakota, 1982

Reservation in northwestern South Dakota. During the 1960s, leaders of these tribes were discussing the postsecondary needs of their people and closely following the development of Navajo Community College and the two Sioux tribal colleges to the south.

Standing Rock Community College

In the 1950s and 1960s, several colleges and universities in North Dakota were offering courses on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation. As there was little coordination of these courses into programs, tribal leaders saw a need to have a centralized system of higher education on their reservation. The Community College Committee was formed on the reservation in 1971 with representatives of the Standing Rock Community Action Committee, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Headstart, Public Health Service, and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council. One of the colleges which had been offering classes on the reservation since 1968, Bismarck Junior College (BJC), was chosen to assist in the development of Standing Rock Community College (SRCC). With the assistance of the staff of the Division of Continuing Education of BJC, a learning center was established on the reservation at Fort Yates (*Standing Rock Community College Catalog*, 1977).

Among the tribal leaders who worked in the early years to develop the community college were David Gipp, Bernard White, Elvina Gray Bear, and Imogene Blue Earth. Dr. Jack Barden, a non-Indian, also made valuable contributions to the establishment of Standing Rock Community College as well as other Indian colleges.

The large Standing Rock Sioux Reservation straddles the North Dakota-South Dakota state line west of the Missouri River. The Indians at Standing Rock are from four bands of the Dakota and Lakota Sioux. The Dakota people live primarily in the North Dakota portion of the reservation and the Lakota in the southern portion. In 1981, 7,958 American Indians lived on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, and a nearly equal number of non-Indians lived on or near the Indian lands. The four bands to which most of the Indian residents of the reserva-

tion belong are the Yankton, Yanktoni, Oglala, and Hunkpapa.*

Classes commenced at the Fort Yates Learning Center in the fall of 1972 with a total of 95 students enrolled. Although classes were initiated in 1972, the college did not officially open until July 1973. In 1972 the name of the institution was changed to Standing Rock Community College. SRCC is in the small town of Fort Yates on the Missouri River in south-central North Dakota. The SRCC Board of Trustees has seven members, each of whom serve two year terms. The Board has final authority in all matters affecting the institution and has jurisdiction over its financial, educational, and other policies (*SRCC Catalog*, 1977).

In 1973, Bismarck Junior College received a Title III grant of $100,000 for the support of SRCC. These funds were used to expand the curriculum and provide added administrative and counseling services. Another Title III grant was awarded to SRCC through Bismarck Junior College in 1974. Until 1974, the classes and offices of the college were housed in the Douglas Skye Memorial Complex at Fort Yates. The college moved to the building known as the Skill Center in 1974 (photo). This facility includes offices, five classrooms, an auditorium, library, and shops. Classes were also available in the South Dakota towns of McLaughlin, Mobridge, and McIntosh (*SRCC Catalog*, 1977). By 1982, in addition to the administrative headquarters and classes at Fort Yates, classes were also offered at Cannonball to the north and centers in South Dakota at McLaughlin, Little Eagle, Wakpala, and Bullhead.

In 1973 approximately 90 students were enrolled at SRCC, and the staff was composed of three full-time persons. The enrollment in the fall of 1982 had grown to 201 of whom 87% were Indians; there were 36 full-time staff. Another important change was the increase in the proportion of full-time students. In the first few years most of the students attended part-time, but in 1982 almost 90% were full-time. Between 1975 and 1982, 93 students received associate degrees at SRCC; another 24 received certificates in clerical, nursing, or farm programs; and 77 GEDs were awarded. This is particularly significant because so few Standing Rock Sioux completed degrees or received certificates prior to the establishment of the college.

*The noted Indian leader, Sitting Bull, a chief of the Hunkpapa Band who was killed in 1890, is buried at Fort Yates a few blocks from SRCC.

The conditions that motivated the founding of SRCC were similar to those at NCC and the two earlier Sioux colleges. Many Indians at Standing Rock could not leave their reservation homes to pursue a postsecondary education, and most of those who did leave and attained their educational goals did not return. In spite of this, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe has produced a number of educated and successful persons including noted author Vine Deloria, Jr., David Gipp, President of UTET Center, and Gerald Gipp, President of Haskell Indian Junior College. Another noted Standing Rock Sioux, anthropologist Bea Medicine, wrote the following about the tribal colleges in 1975: "I believe the greatest strength of these colleges is their flexibility in enrollments" (p. 17). This flexibility provides educational opportunities for many Indians who would otherwise be unable to pursue a higher education. Ms. Medicine believes another strength of the tribally controlled colleges is their emphasis on "cultural retrieval" (Medicine, 1975, p. 17). This is a stated objective of almost all sixteen of these colleges and is referred to as "cultural reinforcement" at Navajo Community College. Unfortunately, few of Standing Rock's outstanding, educated tribal members have returned to reside permanently on their reservation. The founding of SRCC has provided increased job opportunities for educated members of the tribe in their homeland.

The objectives of SRCC, as stated in the *1977–79 Catalog*, were to provide academic programs for beginning students and training in vocational skills to help people find satisfactory jobs, to promote appreciation of the Dakota/Lakota culture, to provide for the educational needs of the adult population, to promote the economic and social development of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, and to provide for self-enrichment in skills and abilities. It was also a goal of the college to become an independently accredited two-year college. In regard to the latter goal, SRCC became a candidate for accreditation with the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1978, and six years later was fully accredited at the two-year level by North Central.

A unique characteristic of SRCC, as seen by its administrators in 1982, was its greater emphasis on academic programs than other tribal colleges. They believed what was most needed by their people was a good general education to prepare them to transfer to a four-year college or university. A component peculiar to SRCC is its ownership and operation of a

Office and Classroom Building
Cheyenne River Community College
Eagle Butte, South Dakota, 1982

farm and ranch in association with its program in vocational agriculture.

As at the other tribally controlled colleges, funds received after 1980 from PL 95–471 (Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978) were very important in the development and survival of SRCC. The appropriations to SRCC from this act in fiscal year 1980 totalled $354,078, computed on 111 full-time equivalent Indian students (Olivas, 1981). The direct outcome of these monies at SRCC were increased and better qualified staff, movement toward full accreditation, curriculum development, and development of instructional and administrative staff.

Cheyenne River Community College

In the northwest quarter of South Dakota lies the huge Cheyenne River Sioux Reservation. Its land area of 2,804,000 acres is approximately the size of the state of Connecticut. As on most western Indian reservations, the transportation, communication, and other services on the Cheyenne River Reservation are very poor. Although it encompasses a large land area, most of the reservation is well suited only for grazing. The climate is dry and the great seasonal fluctuations in temperature make most profitable types of agriculture very difficult. Compared to the three previously mentioned Sioux reservations, Cheyenne River is even more sparsely populated and isolated from the outside world. There are few paved roads and no major population center or recreation attraction in the area. These factors combine to make the Cheyenne River Sioux even more culturally isolated and educationally deprived than their fellow Sioux on other reservations.

The contemporary Cheyenne River Sioux are descendants of the Two Kettle, Minneconju, Sans Arcs, and Blackfeet Bands of the Lakota Sioux. The total reservation population of 7,400 persons is composed of 4,500 Indians and 2,900 non-Indians (Lane, 1982). More than one-half of the Indian families on the Cheyenne River Reservation were below the poverty level in the late 1970s. In 1979, even while unemployment was still rising rapidly, the unemployment rate on the reservation was 38%.

The Cheyenne River Sioux have, in spite of poverty, unemployment, low level of education, and other special problems, placed a high priority on

postsecondary education, at least since the 1960s. A number of classes were being offered on the reservation and in nearby towns. Black Hills State College, Spearfish, and Northern State College and Presentation College, Aberdeen, all had offered courses on the Cheyenne River Reservation, but there were no degree programs or groups of coordinated courses. Leaders of the Cheyenne River Sioux concluded that a tribal college would be the best means to coordinate the development of postsecondary education on their reservation (Lane, 1982). Arlene Marshall, an employee of Public Service Careers, was instrumental in funding the early development of the community college on the Cheyenne River Reservation. Through Marshall, Public Service Career funds were made available for the costs of tuition, books, and instruction for the first classes.

After much discussion and planning, Cheyenne River Community College (CRCC) was finally organized on April 11, 1972; one year later a charter was granted by the Tribal Council. Agreements were signed with Northern State College and Presentation College to secure limited funds from Title III of the Education Act of 1965 (Lane, 1982).

Ellsworth A. LeBeau, a Cheyenne River Sioux, was appointed the first director of the new college. The other three members of the small staff were Michael Claymore, financial aids, academic counselor, and admissions recruiter; Sylvan C. Brown, Lakota language instructor; and Carole O'Neal, center secretary. The difficulty in securing qualified full-time instructors necessitated that the college employ primarily part-time teachers during the first few semesters (Lane, 1982). In the first semester, Fall 1975, 84 students were enrolled in eight courses. By 1976 enrollment had increased to over 100; and in the spring of 1978, 200 students were attending classes in eight communities on the Cheyenne River Reservation.

Director LeBeau, in 1980, completed a survey of the motivational factors affecting American Indian students who had attended CRCC. He received responses from 84 of the 98 Indian students (62 females and 16 males) who had completed two or more semesters at CRCC. The respondents averaged 34.5 years of age. The major motivating factors for attending college were to obtain a job, to be near home, and to increase their feeling of self-worth. It was found that Indian students had the following reasons for selecting CRCC: the school had a good reputation, it was less expensive, cultural and language courses were offered, the curriculum was of value to them in their jobs, and they could attend school part-time while continuing to hold a job (LeBeau, 1980). It is significant that, except for the reputation of the college, all the reasons given for selecting CRCC coincide with the most common rationales for establishing a tribal community college on an Indian reservation. This indicates that, at least on the Cheyenne River Reservation, the educational needs and preferences of the people were accurately assessed by the college planners. Outsiders might not place such a high value on the reputation of CRCC, but it meets the needs of the local people so well it is obvious why it is held in such high repute.

Because of its extreme isolation, CRCC has been influenced less by outside forces than other tribally controlled colleges. This has enabled it to establish a modest but highly autonomous operation. Its staff resources, in the early 1980s, were limited as compared to the other existing tribal colleges. Very few Cheyenne River Sioux had postsecondary educations, and they had to rely on temporary or part-time teachers. In spite of these problems, Cheyenne River Community College has progressed well in its development. In 1982, Associate of Arts degrees were offered in general studies, business, nursing, and education.

CRCC is organized on a decentralized format which is appropriate to the great size, sparse population, and poor transportation on the reservation. Classes are offered at Eagle Butte, South Dakota, the headquarters, and seven to nine other reservation towns, depending upon the residents' needs and availability of instructors. Each year, beginning in 1978, a survey has been made to determine the courses wanted in the various communities. Transfer education for students wanting a four-year degree is given priority at CRCC. Somewhat less important are vocational education and service to the tribe. Another high priority objective is reinforcement of the Lakota language and culture among the Indians on the reservation (Lane, 1982).

In 1980, the college staff moved from very inadequate facilities to a modern new building in Eagle Butte owned by the Cheyenne River Tribe (photo). This building is small, and there was still a lack of some types of space, but conditions were much improved. Two other important developments in 1980 were the institution of a nursing program in conjunction with Presentation College, Aberdeen, South Dakota, and a new four-year teacher educa-

tion program through Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota.

Cheyenne River Community College is no exception to the chronic problem of tribal colleges—insufficient funds. Unfortunately, it was declared unfeasible for appropriations from PL 95–471 in 1980 and 1981 (Olivas, 1981). The college was being operated on a bare bones budget even as compared to other tribal colleges, none of which are well funded. It was expected by the college leaders that they would receive PL 95–471 funds in 1982.

Standing Rock Community College and Cheyenne River Community College have similar histories and programs due to the similarities of the two reservations and the needs of their people. Neither have the trained human resources or population base of Pine Ridge or Rosebud. However, they have overcome these deficiencies and, as of the early 1980s, were moving toward becoming significant forces in the development of their people and tribes.

Eastern Plains and Prairie Tribes

To the east of the four large Sioux tribes with tribal colleges, four tribes with much smaller reservations chartered tribal community colleges during the early 1970s. These tribes are located in eastern North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nebraska. These schools and the dates they were chartered are Turtle Mountain Community College (1972), Nebraska Indian Community College (1973), Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College (1973), and Little Hoop Community College (1974). Descriptive characteristics of these colleges and the other tribal colleges are presented in Table 3. These eastern reservations are much more densely populated and are not as isolated from larger population areas and postsecondary institutions as are the western reservations.

The history and development of each of these four colleges is presented in this section so they may be compared to other tribal colleges and to show how they relate to the overall development of the tribally controlled college movement and Indian self determination in the United States.

Turtle Mountain Community College

The Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation is located on the Canadian border in north central North Dakota in an area of beautiful wooded hills and lakes. The population of 8,100 Chippewas is concentrated in and around the town of Belcourt with some Indians residing in the neighboring off-reservation towns of Dunseith and Rolla, North Dakota. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa people and their reservation differ greatly from the Navajo and Sioux tribes whose movement into tribal higher education has already been described. The Turtle Mountain Reservation is much smaller and more densely populated than those of the earlier tribal colleges. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa have intermarried with non-Indians, particularly with persons of French descent. The long, close contact with non-Indians has assimilated the Turtle Mountain Chippewa into the white culture more than other western reservation Indians.

As on the previously mentioned reservations with tribal colleges, the need for a coordinated postsecondary program was discussed at Turtle Mountain in the 1960s. Isolated classes were being taught by several North Dakota colleges on the reservation. Under the leadership of Dale Nadeau, the tribal leaders planned the establishment of a tribal college in the early 1970s. In 1972, the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Tribe granted a charter to establish Turtle Mountain Community College (TMCC) at Belcourt, North Dakota. The first funding came from a Developing Institutions Grant from Title III of the Higher Education Act of 1965. This grant came through the sponsorship of the North Dakota State University (NDSU) Branch at Bottineau, North Dakota, located west of the reservation. Bilateral agreements with NDSU—Bottineau and a later one with Mayville State College, Mayville, North Dakota, continued until 1979 (*Turtle Mountain Community College Catalog*, 1982–84).

TMCC is more similar to a general community college with less traditional Indian influence than are the other tribally controlled community colleges. It is significant to note that in addition to Gerald "Carty" Monnette, the president of TMCC, two other members of this tribe were tribal college presidents in the fall of 1982. These were Wayne Stein, Standing Rock Community College, and Rose Davis, newly appointed president at Little Hoop Community College.

The major objective of TMCC is to function as an independent, Indian controlled college emphasizing general studies and vocational education. It also strives to develop an environment where the cultural heritage of the Indian people can be brought to

Campus
Turtle Mountain Community College
Belcourt, North Dakota, 1982

light through the curriculum. The college works to establish a faculty, administration, and student body that will provide leadership and service to the local community (*TMCC Annual Report*, 1982).

The physical facilities at the TMCC campus, as of 1982, were not adequate and prevented the college from reaching its full potential in serving the Turtle Mountain Chippewa people. The greatest needs were for a library, student lounge, and physical education facility. Most of the buildings were connected mobile homes that were not suitable for the severe climate of northern North Dakota (photo). In 1982, the college obtained a site for a new campus west of Belcourt; but with the cuts in federal spending at that time, it was unlikely they would be able to implement their plans for more adequate physical facilities.

In 1977, the programs available at TMCC included Associate of Arts in liberal arts and programs in teacher education and business administration that prepared students to pursue a bachelor's degree while remaining on the reservation. The school to which most Turtle Mountain students transferred in the early 1980s was the University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.

The headcount enrollment grew from 181 in the fall of 1969 to 233 in the fall of 1982. Approximately 86% of the students in the latter year were American Indians (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). The growth of full-time equivalent students was proportionally greater indicating a substantial increase in full-time students. TMCC was fully accredited as a two-year college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1984.

A follow-up study of the 60 persons who received associate degrees at TMCC from 1974 to 1980 was conducted in 1981. Of the 43 graduates who returned the questionnaire, 26 (71%) had gone on to complete a bachelor's degree, and 2 had earned master's degrees. At the time of the study, all of the respondents were employed, primarily by the Turtle Mountain School System, BIA or other federal agencies, or the Turtle Mountain Tribe. Considering the high national unemployment in 1981, this survey shows that the TMCC programs were making a major contribution to the employability of its graduates. Also TMCC is preparing tribal members with needed skills for service to their tribe (*TMCC Annual Report*, 1982).

Although funding has not been as serious a problem for TMCC as for most other tribal colleges, it has never had sufficient financial resources to meet the postsecondary needs of its people. In fiscal year 1980, TMCC received $341,318 in appropriations from PL 95–471 based on 107 full-time equivalent

Indian students (Olivas, 1981). These funds were important in allowing the college to expand and improve the quality of its programs and services.

TMCC's unique characteristics are a reflection of the conditions of the Turtle Mountain Chippewa people and their reservation. Compared to other tribes with tribal colleges, they have a very small reservation with better transportation making a centralized form of higher education appropriate. The Turtle Mountain Chippewa people are nearly all mixed bloods. They are striving to be vocationally competitive in a predominantly white environment while trying to preserve what little remains of their Indian culture. TMCC is trying to assist in this difficult endeavor. It appears that the college is having some success in the vocational area, but it is too soon to evaluate the effectiveness of its attempts at cultural preservation and transmission.

Nebraska Indian Community College

The other three tribally controlled colleges in this region are smaller in enrollment and not as well developed as TMCC. They have reservation Indian populations of only 3,730, 3,047, and 2,916 and lack the natural resources of most of the western tribes' reservations.

Nebraska Indian Community College (NICC) was chartered in 1973, and one year later the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribe chartered Little Hoop Community College (LHCC) on their reservation. One of the youngest tribally controlled colleges is Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College which was founded in 1978.

As of 1982, all three of these schools were small, struggling institutions suffering from lack of financing, inadequate facilities, and other problems. They all had the potential to meet the postsecondary needs of their people, but lack of support and resources prevented them from reaching the level of development of the colleges of the larger and relatively more prosperous tribes.

Nebraska Indian Community College, located at three reservation sites in northeastern Nebraska, was chartered as American Indian Satellite Community College in 1973. It was originally founded as a branch of Northeast Technical Community College, Norfolk, Nebraska. It serves three small northeast Nebraska tribes with a total tribal enrollment of 3,047 in 1980. These tribes and the Nebraska towns in which the college sites are located are: Omaha Tribe, Macy; Santee Sioux Tribe, Santee; and the Winnebago Tribe, Winnebago.

The courses offered at each of these sites are primarily determined by the educational needs and concerns of the Indians in the communities. The three sites enrolled a total of 17 students in 1974; and by 1977, the total had increased to 116 students (Horse, 1979). In 1982–83 the average headcount was 265 students with an Indian full-time equivalent of 160. The ratio of females to males was 1.5 to 1 and the average age was between 18 and 27 years. In 1982–83, 90% of the students enrolled at NICC were American Indians.

The basic purpose of the college as stated in 1979 was:

> To provide an educational program in which Indian students can experience success and cultural reinforcement as Indian people. The extent to which students experience success determines the success of the college program. (Horse, 1979, p. 29)

This statement is similar to those at several other tribal colleges, but as these schools have found, "success" must be defined with some consideration for academic standards in the dominant society.

NICC was striving in the 1970s to assist Indians on three small reservations to develop their postsecondary educational skills, manage their own affairs, and reduce unemployment. In 1978, unemployment among members of these tribes served by the college was slightly over 50%, and the average family income was $3,800 to $4,800 (Horse, 1979). Although the members of these three Nebraska tribes are not as isolated from contact with non-Indians and their culture as are most Indians on western reservations, the conditions of low employment, high poverty, and an overall low level of educational attainment are just as prevalent.

The short term objectives of NICC in 1979 were to provide training in Indian tribal government; education in various Indian and tribally-related areas; course work needed to achieve certificates, degrees, and promotion or entrance into other institutions of higher education; skill training or retraining in areas related to job opportunities in the vicinity; developmental education programs needed to overcome deficiencies in present educational systems which would allow for individual and group educational advancement; meet special interest and vocational desires in each community; training in human relations areas for non-Indians who will be working for and with Indians; training in non-Indian govern-

ments so that Indians can effectively compete with non-Indians and share in governmental functions that affect their lives; and a linkage in a broad career development concept which will allow and encourage Indians in paraprofessional roles to gain the competence to fill professional roles (Horse, 1979). This list of short range objectives is too broad and vague to provide a focus for the college. It appears that a number of persons were asked to indicate what the college should do, and all of the suggestions were included. In addition to these objectives, some of which are long term rather than short term, the college listed seven even broader and more ambitious long term objectives in 1979.

Primarily as a result of the passage of PL 95–471 in 1978, the three Nebraska tribes changed their college to an independent, tribally controlled institution making it eligible to receive funds from PL 95–471. The name of the college was changed in 1980 to Nebraska Indian Community College to reflect its independence and the population it was designed to serve. In 1981, the newly independent college became a candidate for accreditation with the North Central Association of College and Schools.

As of 1982, approximately ten percent of the Indians on the three reservations enrolled for at least one course at NICC. Of the 81 students who graduated between 1974 and 1982, 78 were employed or attending a four-year college or university. Three tribal chairmen were attending NICC in 1982 (*Nebraska Indian Community College Catalog*, 1982–84). These figures are indicative of the important contribution being made by NICC to the education of tribal members and the development of tribal leadership.

Federal funds provided nearly all of the financial support for NICC in the early 1980s. In 1980, the school had 109 full-time equivalent Indian students which entitled it to $329,453 in appropriations from the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (Table 3). As a result of receiving these funds, the college was able to add a graphic arts degree in 1982. In the same year, a vocational grant from Title III of the Education Act of 1965 was an important source of funding. The continuance of these federal sources of financial support was crucial to the survival of NICC. Major needs at NICC in the early 1980s were stable funding and governing boards, more student services, courses to meet the needs and level of the reservation student particularly remedial assistance in reading, writing, and mathematics (Griffin, 1982).

Little Hoop Community College

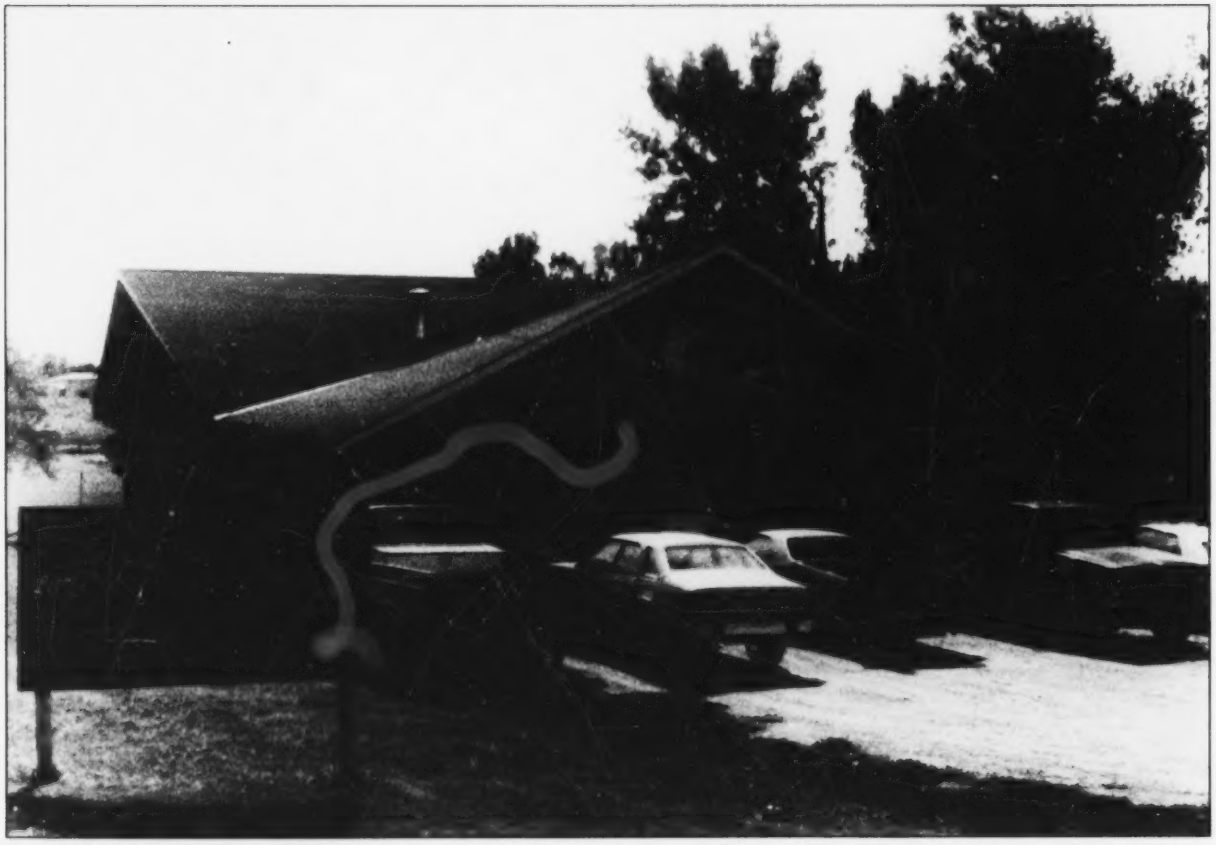
The second tribally controlled college in this region is Little Hoop Community College (LHCC) founded by the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribe in 1974. The Devil's Lake Sioux Tribe and its reservation differ significantly from the Sioux groups in the western Dakotas. The reservation is much smaller in size, less arid, and the population is more densely settled. Fort Totten, the site of the college, is in the lake region of east-central North Dakota, a wooded area with recreational attractions. The college was named in honor of PFC Paul Yankton, Jr., whose Indian name—Caddiska Cenntinna—means "Little Hoop" in English.*

The enrollment at LHCC was low and rather static for the first few years, then increased rapidly in the fall of 1980 to a headcount of 85 students with a student full-time equivalency of 45 students. As with nearly all of the tribally controlled colleges, the initial funding for LHCC came from a Title III grant of the Education Act of 1965. Classes were first offered in 1975, and credit was granted through a bilateral agreement with Lake Region Community College in nearby Devil's Lake, North Dakota. This agreement terminated in 1980, and the college received candidacy status for accreditation from the North Central Association in 1982. The full-time equivalent Indian enrollment at LHCC in 1980 was only 35 which qualified it for $111,696 in PL 95–471 appropriations (Olivas, 1981).

The goals of Little Hoop Community College were based on the philosophy that Indian students deserve a system of higher education responsive to their needs and concerns. It is believed that it is imperative that Indian students experience success and reinforcement in higher education. The college is dedicated to assist each person in defining his or her goals and to serve the community by providing leadership for intellectual development (*Report to NCACS*, 1981, p. 7).

As on other Indian reservations, the unemployment rate at Devil's Lake was very high (61%), and many members of the tribe lacked the job skills or knowledge necessary to compete in the depressed job market of the early 1980s. A major objective of LHCC is to help provide these skills and knowledge for members of the Devil's Lake Sioux Tribe. The tribe had a very young population in 1980 with 58%

*PFC Yankton was the recipient of two Purple Hearts and died while serving in Europe during World War II.



John F. Kennedy Center
Little Hoop Community College
Ft. Totten, North Dakota, 1982

under the age of 16 years. Thus, in future years the need for postsecondary education will be even greater.

The majority of the administrative offices and services at LHCC are located in a wooden frame building known as the John F. Kennedy Center (photo). This small building also houses the business department, special services, and the career planning center classrooms. Additional classroom space and a small library are located in the Devil's Lake Tribal Building across the road. When the Tribal Building is not open, the library is unavailable, making it inconvenient for students. Laboratory facilities are lacking, and space for vocational courses is very limited. The lack of necessary physical facilities was a major factor in limiting the enrollment at LHCC in the early 1980s. It was hoped at that time that the college could arrange with the public school system for the part-time use of laboratory and shop classrooms. A new high school was under construction in 1982, and the college administration had requested use of the present building when it was vacated in 1984.

Several Indian staff members had been with the college since its founding, notably Ms. Joyce Belgarde who served as teacher, counselor, and academic dean at Little Hoop. In the fall of 1982, Donald Matter was the outgoing president at LHCC. His successor was Ms. Rose Davis, a Turtle Mountain Chippewa.

LHCC, in the fall of 1982, was a small, struggling institution trying to establish itself as a significant contributor to the education of the Devil's Lake Sioux people while undergoing the trauma of a ma-

jor administrative change. This change had both the students and faculty experiencing anxiety about the future of their college.

Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College

The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Tribe chartered a tribally controlled community college in 1978 to serve their people on the Lake Traverse Reservation. Most of this reservation is located in extreme northeastern South Dakota with a small portion extending into southeastern North Dakota. The reservation has an area of 105,930 acres with a 1980 Indian population of 3,730. Crop agriculture and cattle raising form the main economic base for the Sisseton-Wahpeton Indians on the reservation. The tribe also operates a restaurant, grocery store, and garage in the town of Old Agency.

The administrative offices, classrooms, and the library of Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College (SWCC) are located in a modern skills center in Old Agency. Classes were also offered in Veblen, South Dakota, in 1978, and plans were being made to provide classes in other reservation communities depending upon the needs of the residents and the resources available.

The local persons most responsible for the founding of SWCC were Thomas LeBlanc, Gyla Robertson, Kurt Bluedog, and Clifford Chanku. Their motivations for founding the college were similar to those of the founders of the tribal colleges previously described in this section. The Sisseton-Wahpeton tribal members needed accessible postsecondary education that was designed to meet the needs of the Indians on the reservation. The following quotation summarizes the purpose of SWCC in 1979:

> The philosophy of the Sisseton-Wahpeton College Center is to offer quality educational opportunities for those seeking courses of study in the area of academic, vocational, and personal growth. (Horse, 1979, p. 128)

The preservation of the Dakota Sioux language and culture was also seen as an important goal. The programs at SWCC were first accredited through agreements with the University of Minnesota—Minneapolis and the branch of the same university at Morris, Minnesota.

As the college struggled to survive in the early years, faculty morale was generally low. Inadequate funding and disagreements among tribal leaders prevented the school from reaching its potential in meeting the postsecondary needs of the Sisseton-Wahpeton people. The staff was aware that the college had the potential to serve as a coordinating agency for a broad range of community services and programs; but lack of resources and, more importantly, discord among the staff and faculty interfered with this in the early years.

In 1978–79 Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College had a head count enrollment of 96 students of whom 30 were full-time. By Fall 1982, the enrollment had increased to 225 students with an Indian full-time equivalent of 175. This growth in enrollment and the great improvement in staff and student morale were brought about, primarily, by two events. First was the $225,000 in appropriations received from PL 95–471 in 1981–82 based on an Indian full-time equivalency of 66 and then appropriations nearly tripled this amount for 1982–83 based on an Indian full-time equivalent of 175. The original funding in 1978 for SWCC came from a grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE). Later other small federal grants were the main source of operating funds. The end of the CETA Title III federal programs in 1982 was a serious blow to the students at SWCC because most of the vocational students were depending upon these funds. The PL 95–471 appropriations in fiscal year 1980 came just in time to save SWCC, and they continue as the college's major source of funding.

The second event that contributed to improved morale at SWCC was the appointment of Schyler Houser as president in 1981. He and his staff were able to unite the administration and faculty which brought about much better morale among the employees and students at the college. By 1982–83, the college was seen as a good place to work and obtain advanced education by most of the Sisseton-Wahpeton people. There were still problems to be solved, but PL 95–471 and the leadership of Houser and his staff had turned the fortunes of the college around (Hill, 1983).

Programs and services initiated in 1981 mainly as a result of PL 95–471, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 included computer terminals for instruction; added courses in most major areas; plans which resulted in the eventual candidacy for accreditation; service to the tribe; revision of fiscal and budgeting procedures; and, most importantly, the potential to add as many as 300 students in the near future. None of these

changes would have been possible without the $225,000 received from PL 95–471. In spite of the help from PL 95–471, SWCC still suffered from financial instability in 1982 because the only other sizeable source of revenue was tuition. In addition to funding, the administrators saw the lack of classroom space as a major obstacle to the institution in meeting its potential as a major influence in the lives of the Sisseton-Wahpeton people.

Another significant development in the history of SWCC occurred in June 1981 with the affiliation of the college with Dakota State College, Madison, South Dakota. Associate of Arts degrees were awarded through this agreement in the fields of business, accounting, business administration, secretarial science, general studies, fine arts, education, counseling, and social services. The North Central Association of Colleges and Schools granted SWCC candidacy for accreditation status in 1984 enabling the college to offer credit and associate degrees as an independent institution.

SWCC had come a long way from its founding in 1978 to a provisionally accredited, well-administered, and more financially stable college only six years later. As described in this section, the three tribes and their tribal colleges in this region differ in size, population, and culture from the five tribes with colleges previously discussed. These are all young institutions that have suffered from lack of funding, poor physical resources, and, in some cases, inadequate leadership. As of 1982, these schools had made major advances and were well on their way to meeting their objectives in service to their people and tribes.

Far Northern Plains Tribes

Leaders of the six tribes whose reservations are located in the far northern plains of Montana and North Dakota examined their postsecondary educational needs during the early 1970s, and each concluded that a tribal community college was needed by their people. These tribes, the names of their college, and year chartered are: Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa (the Three Affiliated Tribes), Fort Berthold Community College, 1973; the Blackfeet Tribe, Blackfeet Community College, 1976; and the Assiniboin and Sioux Tribes, Fort Peck Community College, 1978. These tribes each have large reservations in the drainage of the Upper Missouri River and share some characteristics of poverty, environment, and needs for educational programs to provide for development of their people and tribes.

Fort Berthold Community College

Fort Berthold Reservation is unique in that it is the home of three originally separate and unrelated tribes. The tribes are the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, now known as the Three Affiliated Tribes. Brief histories of these tribes are of value to the understanding of this unusual relationship and its consequences for the contemporary conditions affecting their education.

The Mandans' ancestors came from the east, migrating west in several groups until they reached the valley of the Missouri River. At the time of the first contact with white man, they were living in earth lodge villages at the confluence of the Heart and Missouri Rivers near the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota. In 1837 the Mandans were nearly exterminated by an epidemic of smallpox brought by white explorers. The death rate was increased by the coincidence of a siege by Sioux raiders during the height of the disease. This prevented the Mandans from dispersing which might have saved some of them from contracting the disease. In a few weeks, an estimated population of 1,600 was reduced by death to only 31 survivors (Price, 1978). The few pathetic survivors moved up the Missouri where they settled with the Hidatsa Tribe on the Knife River (Cash & Wolff, 1974).

The Hidatsas had originally been a band of the Crow Tribe in present day Canada and northern Montana. They separated from the Crow; and after a long migration, they finally settled on the Missouri, developing a semi-sedentary life style dependent primarily on agriculture but continuing to hunt buffalo in the summers. Lewis and Clark first visited the Hidatsas in 1804 at the Knife River villages. The Hidatsa and the few Mandan survivors developed a subsistence pattern depending mainly on the cultivation of corn which, when a surplus occurred, was traded to other tribes. The Sioux, and to a lesser degree other nomadic tribes, raided these "corn Indians" to steal their supplies of corn and any other foods (Cash & Wolff, 1974).

The Arikaras were a band of the Pawnee Tribe in pre-contact times. They separated from the other Pawnee bands, moving north from Nebraska into present day South Dakota. In 1770, French fur trad-

ers contacted them on the Missouri River below the mouth of the Cheyenne River. Hostilities with the white traders and the U.S. Army in 1823 caused the Arikaras to move further up the Missouri. They joined the Hidatsas and Mandans at Fort Berthold in 1862 for protection against Sioux raiders. This was the beginning of the association that eventually became a permanent affiliation of these three tribes on the Fort Berthold Reservation (Cash & Wolff, 1974).

This brief summary explains how three small tribes from very different origins were forced by Indian and white depredations and disease to join together for mutual protection and survival.

In 1973, the Three Affiliated Tribes on the Fort Berthold Reservation chartered the Fort Berthold Community College. The college began operation in a dispersed delivery system, scheduling classes at several sites throughout the reservation. In the first year only two courses were offered at two of the reservation towns.

The need for a tribal community college at Fort Berthold was evidenced by low employment, high college attrition among the few Indians who entered college, a lack of workers with salable occupational skills, and the residents' desire to preserve their cultural identities. The completion of Garrison Dam on the Missouri River in 1952 and the subsequent filling of huge Lake Sakakawea seriously disrupted the lives of the Indians residing on the Fort Berthold Reservation. Because all of the Indians on the reservation lived in the lowlands along the river, this necessitated the movement of most of the 3,000 residents to new homes at higher elevations. The long lake divided the reservation into several segments making travel time and transportation from one area to another excessively time-consuming and expensive. For example, a distance of five miles across the lake requires a circuitous trip of 100 miles by road. This made the task of Fort Berthold Community College (FBCC) to provide classes to all residents more difficult, but a necessity if all members of the Affiliated Tribes were to be served.

The college is located two miles west of New Town, North Dakota, near the tribally owned Four Bears Motor Lodge and the Three Tribes Museum. In 1982, the physical facilities consisted of six mobile homes and a dome shaped building built by the vocational students under the supervision of Bennett Yellowbird, the Director of Vocational Education. The buildings were not adequate, and their maintenance and appearance left much to be desired (photo). As of 1982, the college library and the business classes were located in the Three Tribes Museum.

There has been a need for postsecondary education at Fort Berthold for a number of years. The proportion of young people attending college from Fort Berthold was even lower than at most of the other western reservations. FBCC was founded to provide postsecondary education that was appropriate and convenient to the needs of the people of the Three Affiliated Tribes. The specific goals of the college were to retain and reinforce the cultures of each of the three tribes, upgrade academic skills and enable members to obtain a GED certificate or enter college, provide Associate of Arts degrees, provide vocational education to meet personal needs, aid in development of the tribes, and provide community services throughout the reservation (*Fort Berthold Community College 1980–81 Catalog*, p. 11).

In the first few years of the existence of FBCC, the student enrollment was small. In 1974–75, a total of 53 students were in attendance, and three years later the enrollment was 60 students. In 1980, the student body had increased to 251, and in that year 15 students were graduated. Approximately 40 students were graduated in 1982–83, and in 1981 a total of sixty courses were offered at five sites on the reservation. In the fall of 1982, the enrollment dropped to only 67 students of whom 56 were American Indians (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984).

There was a small group of persons who, in the early years, worked diligently to establish FBCC. Among the leaders of this group was Ms. Phyllis Howard who was appointed the first president of the college, a position she still held in 1982. She worked under difficult circumstances to develop a viable institution and placed high priority on a student oriented college by reminding others that the college existed for the students.

The college offers Associate of Arts degrees in accounting, business administration, computer science, liberal arts, public administration, and social work. An Associate of Science degree is also offered in the field of tribal administration. Courses and associate degrees were accredited in the early years through cooperative agreements with Mary College, Bismarck, University of North Dakota, and Minot College, Minot. Fort Berthold Community College, in 1981, attained candidacy for accreditation status with the North Central Association of Colleges and

Administration Building
Fort Berthold Community College
New Town, North Dakota, 1982

Schools enabling it to independently award credit and degrees.

In 1981, FBCC received $129,998 from PL 95–471 based on 38 full-time equivalent Indian students (Olivas, 1981). New programs and services initiated as a result of this appropriation included: Farm/Ranch Advisory Committee, public administration and energy technology curriculum, Childrens' Resource Center, and three summer workshops in the field of business.

The decrease in enrollment in 1982 at FBCC meant that the college was going to have serious financial problems. As the full-time equivalent Indian enrollment drops, the funding from PL 95–471 and other federal sources based on enrollment will also decline. As of 1983, the future of FBCC was not bright. If the decline in enrollment was not reversed, the college would not survive.

Blackfeet Community College

The Blackfeet Reservation consists of 1,525,712 acres composed of two-thirds rangeland with the remainder timber and farmland. The reservation is bounded by the Canadian border to the north and Glacier National Park on the west. The total population of the Blackfeet Tribe in 1982 was approximately 13,000 persons with 6,632 living on the reservation (*Profile Blackfeet Community College*, 1981). As on other western reservations, poverty and unemployment are high among the Blackfeet. The educational level of the Blackfeet people was very low in the 1970s, and attrition from secondary school was high. According to the 1980 United States census, only 25% of the Blackfeet had graduated from high school. The Blackfeet Reservation economy is based primarily on agriculture (mostly cattle raising), tim

ber, tourism at nearby Glacier National Park, and the Blackfeet Writing Company which employs about 100 persons in the manufacture of writing materials, including the red Big Chief writing tablets known to many school children.

Blackfeet Community College (BCC) was founded by the tribe in 1976 to provide for the postsecondary and higher education needs of the Blackfeet people. Foremost among the Blackfeet leaders who were instrumental in the establishment and development of BCC were Percy DeWolfe and Earl Old Person, former chairman of the Tribal Council. The first classes were taught in the fall of 1976 when a total of 67 students enrolled in five courses. Credit for these courses was granted through a bilateral agreement with Flathead Valley Community College. BCC received candidacy status from the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges in 1979 and after that time was eligible to independently offer accredited courses and two-year degrees. In 1980 Blackfeet Community College became independent of Flathead Valley Community College. BCC saw as its mission the achievement of harmony between modern educational achievement and preservation of the traditional Blackfeet culture. It provided access to postsecondary education on the reservation for those who wanted it. The BCC staff strove to provide postsecondary programs for their people without doing unnecessary harm to their traditional life style and beliefs (*Blackfeet Community College Catalog*, 1981–82). This laudable objective has been found difficult to attain here, as at other tribal colleges, where it has been a source of conflict among Indian staff, students, and administrators.

As with other tribes, students who left the reservation and directly entered four-year institutions had not only the disadvantages of academic weaknesses from substandard elementary and secondary schools, but also the violent culture shock of moving from the rural Indian reservation environment to the large town or city with its foreign white culture and discrimination. One reason for founding BCC was to make the initial step to college somewhat less difficult academically and socially in hopes that more Blackfeet students would be successful in completing a four-year program.

Annual enrollments at Blackfeet Community College grew from 265 in 1976–77 to 576 in 1980–81. In the fall of 1981 there were 376 students enrolled in all classes at the college (*Profile of Blackfeet Community College*, 1981). In the fall of 1982, there was another decrease to a total of 190 students enrolled. These decreases in enrollment may be the result of more accurate reporting or evidence of an actual decrease in the number of students at BCC. If the latter is the case, a continuance of this decline will cause serious financial problems for the college.

As with other tribal colleges on large western reservations, BCC was designed on a dispersed delivery system. In addition to the courses taught at the main headquarters in Browning, Montana, courses were offered at the reservation towns of Heart Butte, East Glacier, Babb, and Seville. Female students outnumbered males about two to one in the early years, and approximately 95% of the students at BCC were Indians. The proportion of Indians to non-Indians has fluctuated somewhat depending on the courses offered. In 1977, BCC awarded its first three Associate of Arts degrees, and in 1981–82, 30 associate degrees were awarded. The total associate degrees granted from 1976 to 1982 was 58; an additional 281 vocational certificates were awarded in various areas.

The major objectives of BCC were to provide vocational training and transfer programs. The top priority, as seen by President Carol Juneau in 1982, was preparing students to get a good job. This basic goal had to be attained before other aspects, such as broad general education, could be given more emphasis. Community service and cultural reinforcement were important at BCC, but first and foremost were the skills and knowledge needed to be able to support oneself through a steady job (Juneau, 1982).

President Juneau rated the physical facilities and library holdings as inadequate in 1982. She stated that a new education building was needed in Browning for all levels of education, and that the library of approximately 3,000 volumes was insufficient for program needs. Student services were also judged as inadequate. The top priority capital construction item of the Blackfeet Tribe in 1982 was a new hospital, making it unlikely that a new education building would be constructed in the near future.

As shown in Table 3, appropriations to Blackfeet Community College from PL 95–471 in fiscal year 1980 totaled $264,761 based on 83 full-time equivalent Indian students. This amount was 39.2% of the total operating budget for the year.

The falling enrollment and the related lack of funding were the two main problems of BCC in the early 1980s. The energetic president and well-qualified faculty were working diligently to overcome these deficiencies. Whether or not they would be successful remained to be seen.

Old Indian Agency Building
Fort Peck Community College
Poplar, Montana, 1982

Fort Peck Community College

On the plains of northeastern Montana, north of the huge Fort Peck Reservoir on the Missouri River lies the reservation of the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes. The total area of the reservation is two million acres, about one-half of which is open range land. The total Indian population on the Fort Peck Reservation in 1980 was 5,095. As at the Fort Berthold and Blackfeet Reservations, Fort Peck is isolated from centers of population and educational institutions and is an area of high unemployment and poverty. High school attrition among the young Indians at Fort Peck was nearly fifty percent in the late 1970s. Many of the young Indians at Fort Peck did not want to leave the reservation which contributed to the high unemployment rate.

Because few of the Assiniboines and Sioux at Fort Peck had salable vocational skills, it was decided by tribal leaders in 1977 to establish the Tribal Education Department. The goals of the department were to improve the current negative image of formal education among Indian youth; establish a sound system of postsecondary education and career programs within the tribal structure; and ensure an up-to-date educational program by keeping abreast of changing local, state, and federal educational trends and opportunities. The major initial concern of the Tribal Education Department staff was the establishment of a community college on the reservation which resulted in the Tribal Education Department evolving into the Board of Directors of Fort Peck Community College (FPCC). Staff members at Miles Community College, Miles City, Montana, and

Dawson Community College at Glendive, Montana, were of great assistance in planning and development of FPCC. It was through bilateral agreements with both of these schools that FPCC was authorized to grant associate degrees. FPCC was chartered by the Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Executive Board on January 1, 1978. A six member board of directors was appointed by the Tribal Council, five members of the board were Indians and one was a local non-Indian. Among the leaders who were instrumental in founding the college were Jake Bighorn, Ernie Bighorn, and Bob McNally, who became the college's first president in 1978. Prior to the establishment of FPCC, the post-secondary offerings on the reservation were not centralized nor well coordinated.

The curriculum the first year consisted of limited courses in secretarial science, human services, communications, Indian language, auto body repair, and basic adult education. In the next few years, the college broadened its offerings to provide more vocational and transfer oriented courses. By 1982, Associate of Arts degrees were available through Dawson Community College in English, history/social science, human services, and pre-nursing. Miles Community College sponsored Associate of Applied Science degrees at FPCC in automotive body, automotive mechanics, business administration, and business-secretarial. Certificates were available in several other vocational fields (*Fort Peck Community College Catalog*, 1981–83). The first academic courses were offered at FPCC in the spring of 1978. Approximately eighty persons enrolled in these courses which were accredited through Miles Community College or Dawson Community College. FPCC was initially a satellite of these two institutions. As of 1981, the administration was corresponding with the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges to indicate their intention to seek accreditation by that agency.

The mission of Fort Peck Community College in 1981 was: to offer an academic program to prepare students to transfer and continue their higher education, to provide an occupational program providing training for available jobs on or near the reservation, and to support community organizations and services that will better the tribes and meet community needs (*Fort Peck Community College Catalog*, 1981–83). Notably absent from this mission statement is the mention of a major effort in the cultural reinforcement of the tribal cultures of the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes. However, the single largest class in 1982 was a course in the Dakota language. This class enrolled thirty persons ranging in age from 17 to 77 years. This indicates a need for and commitment to preservation of this language. An earlier statement indicated support for cultural awareness at FPCC as follows:

> To serve the people of the Fort Peck Reservation and northeastern Montana by serving as a vehicle for educational programs stressing Indian culture and awareness and individual awareness. (Horse, 1979, p. 79)

Enrollment grew from a headcount of 7 students in the fall of 1978 to 109 in the fall of 1981. Another significant change has been the increase in the proportion of full-time to part-time students at the college. In the first few years, there were very few full-time students; but by the fall of 1980, 42% of the students were full-time and in the fall of 1982, 107 of the total enrollment of 152 were full-time students. This reflects not only a change in the students but also is the result of an increase in program offerings at FPCC. The full-time equivalent students increased from 13 in 1980 to over 100 in 1982. The proportion of males to females in 1982 was 43% to 57%, a significant change from 1978 when 83% were females. In 1982, 85% of the students enrolled were Indians; a small increase in the percent of non-Indians may have resulted from the increased programs and the improved reputation of FPCC among local non-Indians in the early 1980s.

In addition to the classes taught at the main center in Poplar, Montana, classes were also offered at the small reservation towns of Wolf Point, Fraser, and Brockton. The vocational classes were taught at a site one mile east of Poplar. The main offices and classes at Poplar are housed in an old Indian Agency building built in 1894 (photo). It is centrally located between the tribal offices and the Bureau of Indian Affairs facilities. Overall, the physical facilities at Fort Peck in 1982 were old and inadequate. The greatest physical facility needs were for more classrooms and a better building for the library.

The Tribal Council at Fort Peck has been very supportive of the staff and programs at Fort Peck Community College. In 1982, the tribal chairman and another council member were enrolled at the college. The president, Michael Telep, an Indian, resigned as president in late 1982 for personal reasons. Ms. Marilyn Ridenhower, who had served the college as an English teacher, registrar, and dean of instruction, was appointed acting president at that time. She had been employed by FPCC since its

founding and had contributed significantly to the quality and stability of the institution. She was the only non-Indian in the administration and is an outstanding example of how a few local non-Indians have contributed to the development of tribal colleges.

As at other tribal colleges, lack of funding has been a major obstacle to the development of FPCC and its services to the Sioux and Assiniboine people. A variety of small federal grants were the major source of support in the early years of the college. In 1980 and 1981, FPCC was ruled not feasible for allocations from PL 95–471, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (Olivas, 1981). The administration of the college expected that in 1982 they would be eligible for funding from this act. If this did not materialize, the future of the college was bleak.

The three tribal colleges of the far Northern Plains tribes included in this section are obviously not as well developed as the older tribal colleges previously described. The enrollment declines at Fort Berthold Community College and Blackfeet Community College in 1982 will have serious effects, if they are not corrected, and the inability of Fort Peck Community College to become eligible for PL 95–471 funding is a serious detriment to that school. The staff members at all three of these colleges were working hard to increase enrollments and funding in the fall of 1982, but only time will tell whether they will be successful. The long range effectiveness of these three tribal colleges cannot be evaluated until they have produced more graduates.

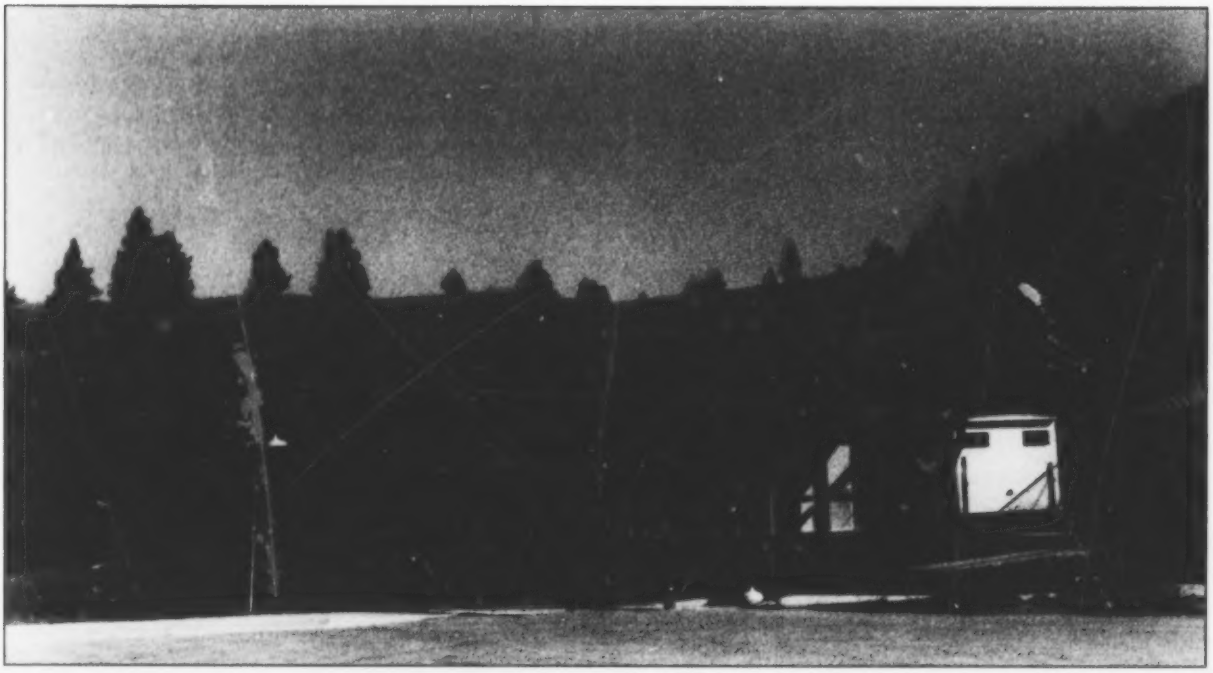
The last two Northern Plains tribes to found tribally controlled colleges on their reservations were Crow and Northern Cheyenne Tribes. Although these tribes have different languages, cultures, and histories, their reservations in southeastern Montana and their current conditions are similar.

Dull Knife Memorial College

The Northern Cheyennes have a long history of resistance to the intrusion of whites into their homelands in the northern plains. In 1864, a large, peaceful village of Cheyenne and Arapahoe was massacred at Sand Creek in Eastern Colorado by Colorado Volunteers led by Colonel J. M. Chivington. The remaining Cheyenne joined with the Sioux and Northern Arapahoes to avenge Sand Creek and other attacks on plains tribes and the many broken treaties. These hostilities culminated in the annihilation of a unit of the 7th Calvary led by General George A. Custer on the Little Big Horn River in 1876. After the Battle of the Little Big Horn, the United States troops relentlessly pursued the Cheyennes until the two main bands were captured in the winter and spring of 1877. These two bands led by Chiefs Little Wolf and Dull Knife were taken to Indian Territory in present day western Oklahoma. Because of the difference in climate, lack of game, undependable government rations, and hostility of the resident tribes, the Cheyennes could not live in this reservation environment. Desperate, they decided that even death was better than their present conditions, and a small band led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf left the Oklahoma reservation to begin their epic 1,000 mile trek to their homeland. Under attack by the military, starving, and freezing, only a few of the band of 300 men, women, and children succeeded in reaching their home on the Tongue River. This amazing exploit has been retold many times and is immortalized in the book *Cheyenne Autumn* by Mari Sandoz.

The United States government finally relented and gave the remaining Northern Cheyennes a small reservation west of the Tongue River in southeastern Montana. Most of the few white settlers in the area left the reservation, leaving the Northern Cheyennes isolated from white contact. Until the past few decades, the Northern Cheyennes have been the most isolated of all of the Northern Plains tribes. It was 1955 before a paved road was put through the reservation, and the principal town, Lame Deer, had no public transportation as late as 1982.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the energy development on all sides of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation began to reduce the isolation and make other changes in the lives of the residents. The need for trained persons to work in the surrounding mining operations was an important motivating factor in the growth of postsecondary education on the reservation. Tribal leaders realized that special programs were needed if their people were going to capitalize on the economic growth of the area. In the 1970s, the overall educational level of the Northern Cheyenne was very low. It was estimated that, in 1975, only five Northern Cheyenne had graduated from a four-year college program. Dull Knife Memorial College, named for the beloved chief, was chartered by tribal ordinance as the Northern Cheyenne Action Program, Inc., in 1975. It was funded by the Indian Technical Assistance Center of the Bu-



Dr. John Woodenlegs Memorial Library
Dull Knife Memorial College
Lame Deer, Montana, 1982

reau of Indian Affairs, and the first classes were taught in the winter of 1978. In December 1979, Dull Knife Memorial College (DKMC) received candidacy for accreditation status from the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges. Associate of Arts degrees in academic areas and Associate of Applied Science degrees in vocational fields were first offered in 1980. The first two Associate of Arts degrees were granted in 1980 through credit granted by an agreement with Miles Community College (MCC) in Miles City, Montana. The staff of MCC, and in particular its president, Dr. Judson H. Flower, was instrumental in the development of DKMC.

A small group of tribal leaders was primarily responsible for the establishment and growth of DKMC. One of these persons was the late Dr. John Woodenlegs, Sr., who helped to break down the long standing suspicion of higher education as something foreign and hostile to the welfare of the Northern Cheyenne people. The library at DKMC was named for this leader who was awarded an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters by the University of Montana in recognition of his contributions to his people (photo). Another Northern Cheyenne leader who lead the movement to found DKMC was Allen Rowland, former president of the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council. He continued to support the college and its goals after his term as president of the Tribal Council had expired. Darius "Ted" Rowland was the president of Dull Knife Memorial College in the early years and is one of the persons most responsible for the rapid growth and solid development of the college.

The objectives of Dull Knife Memorial College as listed in the 1981–82 catalog include general education, transfer education, career programs, adult community based education, student services, and community services. The emphasis on vocational education was originally very high, but later transfer programs rose in priority. The emphasis on cultural reinforcement was somewhat lower than at other tribal colleges. The community service responsibility was seen as important, but the administrators agreed that it should not interfere with transfer and vocational education which had top priority.

One unique factor that influences the environment at DKMC is the unity and stability of the Northern Cheyenne people. Most of the 3,110 Cheyennes on the reservation see themselves as an integral part of a tribal unit, and the leadership has remained remarkably stable. For example, in the fifty years prior to 1982, the tribe had had only three tribal chairmen. The ability of the Northern Cheyenne to survive as a people influences the viewpoint of the Indian faculty and students who have a strong drive to overcome obstacles which might have discouraged less strong willed and tenacious persons.

Reductions in federal funding in 1981–82 necessitated closing several programs and services at DKMC. This brought about an increased effort to broaden sources of funding and, in particular, to obtain private sources of funding. This effort was moderately successful and the potential for funding from mining and other energy-related industries was thought to be good. DKMC has been more successful in attracting private funding from a variety of sources than have the other tribally controlled colleges with the exception of Navajo Community College and College of Ganado.

As shown in Table 3, the total enrollment in 1984 at DKMC was 237 students; females outnumbered males by almost five to one. In 1980, DKMC had a full-time equivalent Indian enrollment of 93, qualifying it for $296,709 in PL 95–471 allocations (Olivas, 1981).

As of the early 1980s, DKMC had an ambitious, energetic administration and staff that saw a bright future for their college to develop and meet the challenges resulting from the energy development on and around their reservation. As an indication of their optimism and long range planning, they had requested and received from the tribe a site in the Crazy Head area between Lame Deer and Ashland for a new campus.

Although the coal reserves on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation have considerable economic value, they also have created serious conflicts among the Northern Cheyenne people. An uncontrolled development of strip coal mining could damage the environment and, more importantly, disrupt the traditional values of the Northern Cheyenne culture. Some members of the tribe are in favor of a maximum development of the natural energy resources to provide needed funds for tribal programs and welfare. Other more traditional members are against any resource development. The Northern Cheyenne leaders must work out a compromise which will provide planned controlled development of their natural resources while protecting the valuable tribal culture. DKMC has a challenge to prepare leaders and educated citizens who can resolve these crucial issues.

Little Big Horn Community College

In southeastern Montana, immediately to the west of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, is the Crow Indian Reservation, the location of one of the later tribally controlled colleges. As of 1982, the Indian population on the Crow Reservation was 4,969.

The Crow Central Education Commission was founded by the tribe in 1972 to coordinate all educational programs on the reservation. The commission formed agreements with Miles Community College, Dawson Community College, and Eastern Montana College to contract for courses and instructors for a program of postsecondary education.

In 1978, a charter was presented to the Crow Indian Tribal Council for the organization of Little Big Horn College (LBHC). The charter was not passed until 1979. A Board of Trustees for the college was formed under the Crow Central Education Commission. Eleven persons were selected for the first Board of Trustees, five from the Commission Executive Board and six for one-year terms as District Board Members. One member of the Crow Tribe who was especially active in the development of LBHC was Janine Windy Boy. She served the tribe as Director of Adult Education in 1975 and became Executive Director (president) of the college in 1982 (photo).

The main factors determining the need for a community college on the Crow Reservation were inaccessibility of higher education, lack of skills needed to fill jobs on the reservation, early marriage and child bearing of many Crows, decreased funding for student financial aid, and the fact that only a few exceptional Crow Indians were successful in white institutions of higher education (Windyboy, 1982). The college founders deliberately did not use the term "community college" in the name of the school in anticipation that someday Little Big Horn College might offer programs beyond the traditional two-year community college degrees. Being one of the later tribal colleges, they had the perspective of Oglala Sioux Community College and Sinte Gleska College which were already moving toward four-year programs.

Ms. Janine Windy Boy, Director
Little Big Horn College
Crow Agency, Montana, 1982

The two top priorities at LBHC in the early 1980s were vocational education and service to the tribe. Somewhat less important, but still considered of value, were transfer education and cultural reinforcement (Windy Boy, 1982). These priorities reflect the rather conservative, deliberate implementation of postsecondary education on the Crow Reservation. The Crows did not move as rapidly or boldly in founding a community college as did the other Northern Plains tribes previously discussed. They later believed that not jumping on the band wagon earlier may have caused them to lose some benefits because federal and state administrators may have doubted the Crows' depth of commitment to supporting a community college. The reduction of funding by the federal government in the early 1980s made it more difficult to establish and develop their college. Earlier tribally controlled colleges were better established and had more stable funding when the federal funding cuts took place. There were also some intratribal disagreements and rivalries that interfered with a more rapid and orderly development of Little Big Horn College (Windy Boy, 1982).

A study funded by the Donner Foundation in 1974 concluded that the most needed vocational training for the Crows was in the areas of community health technician, secretarial science/clerical training, vocational agriculture, vocational business, and printing/media training. The selection of the initial programs by the Commission was partially based on this study (*Little Big Horn College*, 1980). In 1980, Associate of Applied Science degrees were available in community health technology, recre-

ational science, vocational agriculture, and vocational business. Certificates were awarded to those persons completing the printing/media program. The influence of the Donner Foundation Study is still evident in these later offerings. Also in 1980, a Bachelor of Science in elementary education was offered through Eastern Montana College at Billings.

The enrollment at LBHC in 1980 was 102 students. In the early 1980s nearly 100% of the students at the college were Indians and 98% were members of the Crow Tribe. The college's small size, sparsity of non-Indians in the area, and its limited programs account for this unusually high proportion of Indian students. LBHC, as of 1982, was affiliated with Miles City Community College, and credit was granted through this bilateral agreement. In the same year, LBHC received a setback in the loss of federal funding for several of its vocational programs. The college was also determined to be ineligible for PL 95–471 appropriations in the first two years (1980 and 1981) (Olivas, 1980), but the administrators expected to be eligible in fiscal year 1982. These funds would be of great assistance to this struggling institution.

Little Big Horn College is located in the Community Action Program Building in the small reservation town of Crow Agency. It shares this building with the Crow Agency Headstart Center. The college also owns three mobile homes that are used as classrooms. The small library was destroyed by fire in the early 1980s, forcing students to use the public library at Hardin, Montana, 15 miles from Crow Agency (*Little Big Horn College*, 1980). Overall, Director Janine Windy Boy rated the college's physical facilities and library in 1982 as moderately adequate, but this seemed to be overly optimistic. At this time, student services were limited to academic, financial, and personal counseling and vocational planning.

Because of its late start, small size, poor facilities, and the conservatism of many Crows, LBHC was behind the other Northern Plains tribal colleges in its development. On the positive side, it did have a personable, energetic leader in Jeanine Windyboy who was striving to move the school over the obstacles and enable the Crow People to gain the postsecondary education needed for the advancement of members and tribe.

The two tribal colleges described here had many shortcomings in funding, facilities, and support; but the leaders at both Dull Knife Community College and Little Big Horn College were optimistically and energetically leading the way toward improvement of these schools. From an outsider's perspective, it would seem that these two small colleges with similar goals could be combined into one stronger institution supported by both tribes. However, tribal animosities and cultural differences might make this very difficult. Factions within these tribes and the conflicts of progressives versus conservatives have made consensus hard to attain. Adding the intertribal differences between the Crow and Northern Cheyenne would make progress even more difficult. The planned, controlled development of natural resources on the two reservations has great potential for the future of these tribes and their colleges. If they wisely utilize the funds obtained and the employment possibilities are fully taken advantage of, this will enable the tribes and their colleges to move forward while retaining their cultural identities.

Tribal Colleges Outside the Great Plains

The final three tribally controlled colleges that are located in other parts of the country have significant differences from those described in previous sections. As of 1982, one of these colleges was prospering, one was struggling to survive, and the third was no longer in operation.

Salish Kootenai College

Although the Flathead Indian Reservation in northwestern Montana is not far in distance from the Blackfeet Reservation, its people and environment are quite different. Culturally the Indians at Flathead are a combination of Basin and Northern Plains peoples with some influences from the Northwest Coast tribes. The Flathead Indian Reservation is situated in the beautiful Flathead Valley in northwestern Montana, south of Flathead Lake. This is an area of higher precipitation and less extremes in temperature than the plains to the east. The reservation was originally the home of four tribes that formed a confederation in 1855. These four tribes were the Pend Oreille, Kalispell, Salish, and Kootenai. In 1934, the remaining Salish and Kootenai Tribes became chartered as an Indian owned corporation now known as the Flathead Tribe.

Campus
Salish Kootenai College
Pablo, Montana, 1982

In 1981, of a total reservation population of 20,690, only 3,300 were enrolled members of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Comprising only about 16% of the reservation population, the Salish and Kootenai are a minority on their own reservation. Homesteading of the reservation in 1910 resulted in less than one-half of the reservation land being retained in Indian ownership. Most of the agricultural and industrial developments in the Flathead Valley are owned by non-Indians. Due to the high incidence of contact with non-Indians, there has been much assimilation of the Indian people into the dominant white culture. In spite of this assimilation, the overall educational level of the members of these tribes is low and has been of concern to tribal leaders for some time. Some Salish and Kootenai believe that the discrimination by whites against Indians is greater here than on reservations where there is less contact with whites.

A satellite center of Flathead Valley Community College in Kalispell, Montana, operated on the Flathead Reservation from 1974 to 1979. In November 1977, this institution was chartered by the tribal council as Salish Kootenai Community College. Tribal members who were active in the founding and early development of the college were Mike O'Donnel, Karen Fenton, Jerry Slater, and Joe McDonald who became the first president of Salish Kootenai Community College. The college was granted candidate status by the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges in 1980, and in 1981 changed its name to Salish Kootenai College (SKC).

One of the primary objectives for establishing the college was the preservation of the Salish/Kootenai culture. During the period of the 1940s to the 1960s, the loss of the spoken language and other aspects of traditional culture among the Salish/Kootenai people was very rapid. In order to counteract this loss, it

was seen as imperative that they have their own tribally controlled college where their language and other aspects of the culture could be preserved and transmitted. Two other important objectives were to provide accessible, convenient, affordable postsecondary education on the reservation and to assist in the development of the Salish Kootenai Confederated Tribes (*Salish Kootenai College*, 1980).

Salish Kootenai College grew rapidly in enrollment in the early years. In the 1976–77 school year there were 49 full-time equivalent students. Four years later, in 1981–82, this had nearly quintupled to 240 full-time equivalency of whom 152 were full-time equivalent Indian students (*Salish Kootenai College*, 1982). The headcount enrollment in fall of 1982 was 516. The proportion of full-time students increased in the 1980s, and the proportion of males to females was 1 to 1.5. Only about two-thirds (67.4%) of the students enrolled in 1982 were enrolled members of Indian tribes. This is the lowest percentage of Indians of any tribally controlled college. The high proportion of intermarriage and the presence of an Indian Job Corps at Flathead, Montana, accounted for many of the non-enrolled Indians at Salish Kootenai College.

In the early 1980s, Associate of Applied Science degrees were available in seven fields: forestry, natural science, management, surveying, health education, secretarial science, and law enforcement. At the spring 1981 commencement, 35 students received associate degrees (*Salish Kootenai College*, 1980).

The central office of Salish Kootenai College is located in an attractive new building east of Highway 93 in Pablo, Montana (photo). This outstanding facility houses offices, classrooms, a library, and laboratories. Classes are also taught at centers in Elmo, Arlee, Ronan, and St. Ignatius on the reservation. Overall, the physical facilities in 1982 were adequate, but there was a need for more space and better classrooms at some of the centers.

In 1981–82, SKC received $428,000 in appropriations from the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (Olivas, 1981). This amounted to 40.3% of the total operating budget of $1,062,211 for that year. Another major source of funding was the Minority Institutions Science Improvement Program which provided $131,251. Because this reservation is more compact and has better transportation than those of the Northern Plains tribes, they do not have the magnitude of problems with coordination, facilities, and resources for their college programs.

As of 1982, SKC was prospering in enrollment and was providing adequate programs in vocational education and transfer education. The efforts to preserve the language and culture of the Salish-Kootenai people were too recent to be assessed. Without support of a sufficient number of Indians who speak the language and practice the traditional beliefs and ways, this is going to be difficult to attain.

Lummi Community College

The only tribally controlled college in the Pacific Northwest is Lummi Community College (formerly Lummi College of Fisheries and Aquaculture) located at Lummi Island, Washington. This school was established by the Lummi Tribe in 1973 for its people and other American Indians of the Northwest. The five persons most responsible for the founding of this college were Sam Cagey, Jim McKay, Penny Hillirre, Vernon Land, and Jeannette Casimer who later served as president of the college.

The original purpose of the college was to provide specialized educational programs that would enable Indians to obtain employment in tribal, state, or federal fisheries or to continue their fisheries studies at four-year institutions. From 1975 to 1980, Lummi College of Fisheries and Aquaculture had a bilateral agreement with Whatcom Community College, Bellingham, Washington, to offer accredited courses in aquaculture and related areas. This agreement was terminated in 1980 when Lummi Community College (LCC) received candidacy for accreditation status from the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges enabling the college to offer accredited courses and degrees without affiliation with an accredited institution.

The need for fisheries education had increased in the Northwest since 1974 when the fishing rights of American Indians were more clearly defined. The Indian tribes of Washington state are responsible for the management of nearly fifty percent of the salmon stocks of Puget Sound and Washington's Pacific coast. More than eighty percent of the members of the Lummi Tribe were directly involved in fishing and water related occupations in 1982. The proportion of non-Indians attending LCC from 1973 to 1980 ranged from 25% to 50%. In addition to the Lummi Indians at the college, students from a number of other Pacific Northwest tribes have attended LCC.

As would be expected, because of its curricular emphasis, the school attracted students primarily from reservations with fisheries resources.

In 1978 only one person received an associate degree at LCC, but in 1980–81, 18 persons were granted Associate of Science degrees in aquaculture and fisheries, indicating the significant growth of enrollments in these programs. As of 1982, the majority of the college's graduates (56%) were employed in the fisheries field; others had transferred to four-year institutions to continue their studies. In the same year, LCC reported a completion rate of 82% which is exceptionally high for a two-year college. Since 1979 over eighty percent of the Lummi Tribe members who attended LCC have remained on or returned to the reservation. In the early years, the main strengths of LCC were its responsiveness to the need for trained fisheries personnel on Northwest Indian reservations and to its contribution to providing salable vocational skills for Indians of the Northwest.

Prior to the college's establishment, very few Indians were employed in the higher level jobs in aquaculture and fisheries because they lacked the training to be promoted to more responsible positions. The types of work done by most LCC graduates are fisheries research and management, management of tribal oyster operations, technicians in oyster hatcheries, and stream surveys for spawning escapement. Others have continued their studies in these fields. The Lummi graduates who complete their fisheries programs and work for their tribe are conserving an important tribal resource.

As at other reservations with a tribally controlled college, the educational opportunities at LCC help to remove some of the financial, social, and geographic barriers to higher education for Indians. Although LCC is located in a more densely populated and prosperous area than most of the other reservations with tribal colleges, its residents also have high unemployment and a low level of formal education. The reservation is very small in area and had a population of only approximately 2,290 in 1981.

Although complete enrollment data are not available for the recent years at LCC, the headcount in 1980 was reported as 85 students; and the Indian full-time equivalency was 28. The National Center for Educational Statistics reported that in the fall of 1982 there were only 19 students enrolled at LCC, 94.7% of whom were Indians. If this is accurate and the enrollment does not increase, the college will not be able to survive.

In 1980, the first year of PL 95–471 allocations, LCC was ruled ineligible for these funds. By 1982, they received funding from this act, and the budget reductions made the college almost totally dependent upon it for financial resources.

In 1982–83, it became evident that changes had to be made to enable the college to survive as a viable postsecondary institution. The narrow, specialized curriculum could not attract enough students to keep the college going. It was decided that the purposes and programs should be changed to meet the needs of a broader range of Lummi and other Indians of the Pacific Northwest. In addition to the existing aquaculture and fisheries programs, business administration, secretarial science, business management, and a general studies program for transfer students were added. A commercial fishing program was also initiated. These major revisions in purpose and programs also resulted in the school's name being changed to Lummi Community College. To strengthen the administration, Dr. Robert Lawrence was appointed the new president of the college in the summer of 1983. These major changes also necessitated that LCC reapply for accreditation to the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges (Casimer, 1983).

As of 1983, LCC was trying to establish itself as an institution with a sufficient breadth of programs to attract more Lummi and other Indians of the Northwest. It is not situated, as are most other tribal colleges, so far from other postsecondary institutions that the local residents have no other options. It must offer programs that are unique and of high quality to attract not only American Indians but at least some non-Indians. If this is not done, it is doubtful that LCC will continue to exist.

Ojibwa Community College

The final tribally controlled community college included in these profiles is Ojibwa Community College and Learning Center located in the Upper Peninsula Michigan town of Baraga. The college was founded in 1975 by the L'Anse-Vieux Desert Band of the Chippewa at their Keweenaw Bay Reservation on the southern shore of Lake Superior.

Ojibwa Community College had 75 students enrolled, sixty percent of whom were Indians. The Chippewas on the Keweenaw Bay Reservation numbered only 893 persons in 1980, making it necessary

that the college attract non-Indians to maintain a sufficient enrollment.

The founder and first director of Ojibwa Community College (OCC) was Donald A. LaPointe who worked long and hard to establish and promote the college. The college applied for a feasibility study for PL 95–471 in 1980 but was ruled to be nonfeasible. Thus OCC received no funds from the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978.

Later in 1980, the severe financial recession in Michigan caused the cancellation of all Michigan Tech classes on the reservation. This forced OCC to close its doors. As of 1983, Director LaPointe was still optimistic that the college could form an affiliation with Northern Michigan University and reopen. He noted that the reservation was 118 miles from the nearest community college; and therefore, there was a real need for postsecondary educational programs (LaPointe, 3 January 1984).

It appeared, in 1983, that the nationwide cutbacks in federal funding for education would make it very difficult for a small tribe in a sparsely settled area to maintain a new community college. Ojibwa Community College was the first tribal college to close, but it probably will not be the last.

Two Colleges that Reorganized to Qualify for PL 95–471 Funding

With the passage of the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, two existing postsecondary institutions with very different histories made changes in their governance and became chartered by Indian tribes. Their primary purpose for this action was to meet the definition of a tribally controlled college and thus become eligible for appropriations from PL 95–471. It had been feared by some observers that there would be a number of schools that would minimally reorganize and "go shopping" for a tribe to charter them for financial gain from PL 95–471 (Olivas, 1981). Fortunately, the definition of tribally controlled college is tight enough to have prevented this from occurring, and only the two colleges described in this section have taken this action. These two colleges are D-Q University, near Davis, California, and the College of Ganado, Ganado, Arizona. D-Q University is unique and controversial; and, because little has been published about it other than in local newspapers, it is discussed in some detail in this section.

D-Q University

In the early morning hours of November 3, 1970, a group of American Indians and Chicanos scaled a seven-foot cyclone fence and claimed a surplus U.S. Army communications site in the Sacramento Valley of California for the campus of the newly formed D-Q University. This action brought to the public's attention a unique institution that has existed in controversy for over fifteen years (Fitch, 1 April 1982). The following profile of D-Q University reflects the greatly differing views of its founders, staff, local citizens and federal agents who dealt with the staff. It is evident each of these persons used a different value system to evaluate D-Q University.

Beginning in the early 1960s a small group of American Indians in California led by Jack D. Forbes, a professor at University of California—Davis, began discussing the need for an institution of higher education to meet the unique needs of American Indians. Forbes envisioned a national Indian university with a broad range of academic programs and services for Indians. It was to be an "Indian controlled and Indian centered" institution supported mainly by federal funds (Forbes, 1966). Forbes and his associates were unable to obtain sufficient support or funding for this ambitious project. The concept of an Indian university was scaled down and modified into a two-year college that provided some of programs and services of the original proposal. As the concept of an Indian college developed, the proposed constituency was broadened to include the term "indigenous persons." This included the Native American and Chicano population of the area. The name chosen, Deganawidah-Quetzelcoatl University, reflects the heritage of the two peoples this school was to serve. Deganawidah, a Huron Indian, was the primary founder of the Iroquois Confederacy, the most successful confederation of American Indian tribes in our history. The principles upon which the five original tribes were associated were used as a source by the writers of the Constitution of the United States. Quetzelcoatl was the plumed serpent god of the Aztecs who brought important aspects of civilization to his people. Because the names of these two cultural heroes are considered sacred by the founders of D-Q Uni-

versity, they are not to be used except in religious ceremonies, so the college is known simply as D-Q University.

In the fall of 1970, a 632 acre Army communications site seven miles west of Davis, California, was declared surplus, and it was announced publicly that educational institutions could apply for its use. Two institutions, the University of California—Davis (UC—Davis) and the fledgling D-Q University made application. UC—Davis wanted the site for agricultural research and a primate laboratory. In late October 1970 word was received that UC—Davis was to be the successful applicant. This motivated the D-Q University group to occupy the site in early November of 1970. Some nonforceful efforts were made by federal officials to remove the occupants, but the Indians and Chicanos would not be removed. After a month of occupancy, UC—Davis withdrew its application, clearing the way for D-Q University to acquire use of the site. In spite of the lack of competition, the Indians and their allies did not trust the Department of Education and were unwilling to abandon the site. They remained until January 12, 1971, when the Department of Education agreed to lease the site to them for thirty years (Fitch, 1 April 1982).

The controversial manner in which they obtained the lease caused resentment among some local residents toward the faculty and students of D-Q University. In justifying their claim to the site, the Indian leaders held that all of America, particularly federal land, belongs to the Indians because it was taken from them illegally (Guelden, April 1982).

D-Q University opened its doors to the first group of fifty students on July 6, 1971. The institution, although titled "university," was in essence a two-year community college. The first governing board of 32 persons was equally divided between American Indian and Chicano members. In spite of this apparent equal representation of the Chicano and Indian people at D-Q University, it became evident from later events that leadership and curriculum was weighted toward the Indians. The original plans called for D-Q University to be organized in three colleges: Tiburcio Vasquez was the college of general studies, Quetzelcoatl College was to be the unit emphasizing Chicano studies, and the unit emphasizing Native American studies was named Hehaka Sapa College (*D-Q University Catalog*, 1976–77). In actuality only the general college and the Native American programs were even partially implemented.

The 1976–77 catalog of D-Q University listed the following institutional objectives:

> To meet the needs of the Chicano and Native American communities through practicums which combine contemporary technologies and professional skills, to preserve and develop the two cultural heritages as substantive disciplines of scholarly inquiry, to serve as a learning center for the two indigenous communities, and to bring education to the Native American and Chicano peoples in the community in which they live through the Community Education Outreach Process. (p. 2)

These objectives are broad and lack specificity. The terms "needs," "cultural heritage," "learning centers," and "education" were not well enough defined to give direction to the educational programs and services at D-Q University. The objectives of most of the other tribal colleges are more clearly focused on vocational programs; transfer preparation; reinforcement of tribal languages, arts, crafts, and beliefs; and service to the tribes in specific areas. Some of D-Q University's later enrollment problems may have been due to the lack of specificity and clarity of the institution's goals.

Associate of Arts degrees were offered at D-Q University in 1976–77 in general agriculture, indigenous studies, social science, community development, and general education (*D-Q University Catalog*, 1976–77). These programs do not prepare students for specific available occupations nor do they give a good basic education for success in a four-year program. The academic deficiencies of American Indians throughout the Western United States are primarily in the areas of written and spoken English and mathematics. Neither of these areas is emphasized sufficiently in the D-Q University curriculum to prepare students to be successful in further education or in most self-fulfilling careers. This is not to say that the courses at D-Q University were not of value to the students; but if students planned to continue their education or enter a career in the dominant society with an opportunity for advancement, they would be disappointed. It appears that the educational needs of the Chicanos and American Indians in the area were not carefully assessed prior to formation of the objectives of D-Q University. The founders of D-Q University envisioned an institution with objectives based on values differing from those of the dominant culture *which is valid;* but if the students want to progress in the non-Indian world, they must also attain the educational skills this requires.

In the early 1970s, D-Q University grew and developed several new programs. In 1972–73, the college administered a program for migrant workers in four area cities. The program was designed to serve 5,500 workers, but the actual number served was only approximately 600. The federal government required that $30,000 be returned in 1972 as a result of "questioned funds" in the audit of this program (Powell, 21 November 1982).

Dennis Banks, a founder of the American Indian Movement, was hired as chancellor of D-Q University in 1976. Banks was being sought by authorities in South Dakota as a result of a conviction on assault charges in that state. California governor, Jerry Brown, had refused to extradite Banks to South Dakota, but Brown's successor stated during his campaign that he would not protect Banks. Banks left California and fled to an Indian reservation in New York where he claimed immunity from extradition. In late 1984, Banks voluntarily returned to South Dakota and turned himself in to the authorities. He was tried and sentenced to three years in prison. The employment of Banks at D-Q caused some locals to see the school as a haven for fugitives from justice and reinforced their prejudices against American Indians and D-Q University, in particular.

Jack D. Forbes continued as a leader and teacher at D-Q University during the mid-1970s. Two other faculty members at UC—Davis, David Risling and Sarah Hutchinson, were the main instructors in Native American studies and strong supporters of the college. Dr. Jorge Acovedo was one of the Chicano leaders in the early years of D-Q University. He later served as the Dean of Academic Affairs and taught courses.

D-Q University attained an important milestone in 1977 when it was accredited as a two-year college by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges. This significant action enabled the college to independently grant associate degrees and entitled the students to transfer credits to other institutions.

Problems became pressing at D-Q University in the late 1970s. These problems centered around low enrollments, inadequate maintenance of facilities, and most importantly a serious lack of financial support. The lease for the D-Q University site specified that by 1979 the school must have 200 full-time students. Failure to meet this deadline and other problems caused the officials in the federal funding agencies to become increasingly concerned about the conditions at D-Q University.

D-Q University was a member of the group of Indian colleges that promoted and finally were successful in the enactment of PL 95–471. D-Q University did not meet the criteria for funding under this act because it was not chartered by an Indian tribe and did not have a governing board made up of Indians. In anticipation of passage of PL 95–471, D-Q University became chartered by the Hoopa Valley and Soboba Indian tribes in 1977 (Olivas, 1981). After passage of PL 95–471 in October 1978, D-Q University still did not meet the requirement that the majority of the governing board members be American Indians. This was remedied in November 1978 with the resignation of all of the Chicano board members. There was disagreement among those involved as to whether or not the resignations were voluntary. David Risling stated the resignations were not forced and that they were necessary for the financial survival of the college (*Sacramento Bee*, 12 April 1979). In contrast to Risling's statement, fifty Chicanos demonstrated on the D-Q University campus on February 12, 1979, in protest of the layoffs of Chicano faculty members and the forced resignations of the Chicano board members (Horowitz, 11 April 1979).

The reconstruction of the board of trustees enabled D-Q University to meet all requirements for funding by PL 95–471. In fiscal year 1980, the first year funds were available, D-Q University was ruled eligible and received $242,431 based on a reported 76 full-time equivalent Indian students (Olivas, 1981). This was an important milestone in establishing a more stable source of funding for D-Q University.

Throughout much of its existence, as reported in the newspapers, officials at D-Q University have been accused of mismanagement, violations of federal government regulations, and sub-par educational programs. These charges resulted in audits and investigations by several federal agencies. D-Q University president Steve Baldy claimed in 1980 that it was the most investigated school in the United States (Middleton, 19 February 1980). Considering its short history, this is probably accurate.

Publicly, D-Q University's problems have centered around disagreements between federal agencies and the school officials relating to the student enrollment figures and the illegal leasing of part of the campus site for non-educational purposes. The federal government has repeatedly charged that D-Q University did not attain an enrollment of 200 students by 1979 as required to maintain their lease and, in fact, has never had 200 full-time students.

The second major charge was that the college leased part of its site for agricultural purposes in violation of the lease which required that the site be used exclusively for educational purposes.

Problems at D-Q University began to come to a head in the spring of 1979. The FBI investigated charges that D-Q University was padding enrollment figures by having faculty members enroll for classes. It also looked into allegations that persons who never attended classes received financial aid intended for students. As a result of these charges, D-Q University's federal funding was suspended in April 1979 (Mendel, 4 April 1979). President Drusilla Parker reported in that month that D-Q University had a total of 163 full-time students at the main campus and two branches. She held that the college would have reached an enrollment of 200 full-time students if the federal government had not suspended funding for the second time. The charges by the FBI and HEW were investigated by United States Attorney Herman Silas who found no grounds for criminal prosecution (Fitch, 11 April 1982). In addition to federal agencies, local groups continued to publicly criticize D-Q University. The American Citizens for Honesty in Government sponsored by Scientology investigated D-Q University and charged poor financial management of the institution. This particular religious group may not be representative of public opinion, but it is indicative of the variety of local groups opposing D-Q University (Horowitz, 11 April 1979).

David Risling, Chairman of The D-Q University board claimed in February 1979 that most of D-Q University's problems were the result of poor communications. He believed that if individuals and groups concerned about the institution would contact the D-Q administration first rather than publicly making charges before getting the facts, many of the issues could be resolved (Horowitz, 11, April 1979). Part of the responsibility for informing the public concerning its operations and programs lay with the D-Q University staff who were not as open and cooperative as they could have been.

Still another problem surfaced in the spring of 1979 when the Western Association of Schools and Colleges placed D-Q University on probation in regard to its accreditation. The reason given for this action was the continued late submission of required reports to the accrediting association. This probation was not lifted until three years later in June of 1982. In spite of D-Q University's continued financial and other problems, it never lost its accreditation and was still fully accredited in April of 1984.

In 1979, the supporters of D-Q University got some support that had the potential to resolve many of their problems with the federal government. Representative Vic Fazio (Democrat-Sacramento) sponsored HR 3144 in the US House of Representatives. This resolution provided that D-Q University would gain ownership of its campus site over a period of years. Fazio's bill soon met with opposition in the local area. His political opponents tried to use HR 3144 to defeat his bid for reelection in the fall of 1982. It was held by his Republican opponents that his action was a waste of valuable federal land. After an attempt to defend his reasons for supporting deeding the site to D-Q University, Fazio finally gave in and withdrew his support for this bill (Guelden, 31 March 1982). In late March of 1982, Fazio stated: "The bill to grant D-Q land will not pass, D-Q is simply not strong enough to win the confidence of a Congress sorely pressed to save every possible dollar of taxpayers' assets" (Fitch, 1 April 1982, p. 1). Fazio added that the opposition of the United States Department of Education to D-Q University would in itself prevent passage of the bill.

As expected, David Risling was critical of Fazio's decision to withdraw support for the bill. He charged that Fazio had given in to political pressure caused by the audits and investigations which cast unfair suspicion on D-Q University. He claimed that the numerous audits had never required a payback and that the auditors had not accurately determined the enrollment at D-Q University (Fitch, 1 April 1982). This is true, except for the $30,000 payback of funds required from the migrant program of 1972.

Two groups of local citizens took advantage of the loss of Fazio's support and the public criticism to publicly attack D-Q University. The president of the Yolo County Taxpayers, referred to the federal funds spent on D-Q University as "wasted tax money." And the Yolo County Farm Bureau president, called the school "an inappropriate use of federal land" (Fitch, 1 April 1982). As the above statements indicate, in the spring of 1982, D-Q University was under attack on several fronts and had little open support from outside individuals or organizations.

D-Q University officials stated strongly in 1980 that the federal government was harassing the institution. They claimed that racists wanted to see the college close and that government audits and investigations were being used to discredit and undermine the institution (Middleton, 19 February 1980).

In March 1982 another audit, this time by the US Department of Education (DOE), charged that D-Q University had greatly overstated its enrollment. Rather than the 200 student minimum required by the lease, only 86 were in attendance in fall of 1981. The DOE audit also reiterated charges that D-Q University had inadequately maintained its campus and leased part of the site to local farmers in violation of the lease agreement.

The federal government, in June 1982, filed to reclaim the D-Q University site. As a result, D-Q University suffered another blow in September 1982 when the school officials were notified that they must vacate the site in thirty days. However the deadline was extended to allow the college to use the site on a temporary basis until the close of the academic year in June 1983 (*California Aggie*, 24 September 1982). This action appeared to place another nail in D-Q University's coffin.

A feature front page article by R. W. Powell in the November 21, 1982, issue of the *Sacramento Bee* summarized the situation at D-Q University at that time. It reported that in its eleven years of existence, D-Q University had graduated a total of seventy students and only nine had graduated in the 1980–81 school year. During this same eleven year period, the federal government had expended at least $9.5 million at the institution. The obvious conclusion was that the programs at D-Q University were excessively expensive in terms of the graduates produced. Board chairman, David Risling, countered this charge by pointing out that the federal government was imposing its definitions of college education and students on a school designed for non-traditional students. Large numbers of graduates was not the goal of D-Q University because many of its students came for a short term and did not seek a degree. Programs such as those for the sun dancers do not fit the criteria for formal classes but are valuable because they help to preserve the cultural heritage of Native Americans. Risling also stated that the college was run efficiently and that most of the operating funds came from foundations and other non-federal sources. This article also detailed the long standing federal charges that the college had insufficient enrollment and had leased part of its campus for non-educational purposes.

In January 1984, District Judge Philip Wilkins ruled that the federal government could not evict the college from its site at that time. He ruled that he question of rightful possession of the site could not be resolved on the current evidence. Carlos Cordero, President of D-Q University, stated that the institution had the equivalent of 200 full-time students with 40% on the main campus (McCurdy, January 1984).

In the fall of 1982, D-Q University had a headcount enrollment of 257 students, two-thirds (177) of whom were Indians; 19.5% (50) were white; 9.1% (25) were Hispanic; and the remaining were Black and Asian-American (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). This indicates a stable enrollment but probably not 200 full-time equivalent students.

In spite of the serious problems facing D-Q University in the early 1980s, as of early 1984 it was still open. The closure of this tribally controlled college had been predicted for several years, but it was able to survive under strong pressure to close it.

It is difficult to objectively summarize the stormy history of D-Q University. Nearly all of the persons involved with this controversial institution are partisan and biased concerning its effectiveness and quality of administration. Supporters of the college see it as an effective institution fighting against racist, narrow-minded bureaucrats and politicians and red tape. The federal officials who have dealt with D-Q University consider it to be responsible for an inefficient expenditure of federal funds which are administered by persons who refuse to provide needed accurate data and to abide by government regulations. Many local residents of this part of Yolo County have a negative perception of D-Q University caused by the manner in which the lease was obtained and the view that the school administators are misusing federal funds and promoting unlawful behavior.

College of Ganado

The final profile is of another unique tribally controlled institution with a history different from any of the other colleges chartered by Indian tribes.

Since the early 1900s there had been a Presbyterian mission, hospital, and Indian boarding school at Ganado, Arizona, in the heart of the Navajo Reservation. In 1968, Ganado officials decided that there was no longer a need for an elementary and secondary boarding school at Ganado because federal and public schools were meeting the needs of Navajo children in grades 1 through 12. It was agreed that what was needed was a postsecondary program for the local members of the Navajo and

Hopi tribes, so in 1970 Ganado Learning Center was created. One year later the community college concept was adopted and the new College of Ganado opened with 85 students enrolled. Initially, an agreement with Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, was made so college credit could be granted for courses taught at Ganado (*College of Ganado*, n.d.). The college was granted candidacy status in 1973 by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools allowing the college to independently award credit for its courses. In 1979, the College of Ganado was given full accreditation as a two-year college by North Central Association.

The college was a two-year institution that welcomed all students without regard to race, religion, or national origin. It placed special emphasis on the needs and cultural heritage of Native Americans. In 1977 there were 301 American Indians enrolled at the college (Peniska, 1979). The next year the total headcount had increased to 321. From 1977 to 1979, 85% of the full-time students were Navajos, 2% were Hopi/Tewa, 8.1% were other Indians, and 4.3% were Anglos. It is interesting to note how similar these ethnic percentages were to those at nearby Navajo Community College. The college reported that from 95 to 97% of the students received financial aid which in most cases was one hundred percent of their basic expenses. The financial aid was primarily from federal programs with some small internal scholarship and/or loan funds (*College of Ganado*, 1979).

The Board of Regents was changed in 1978 from a group with membership of one-half Presbyterian clergy to a body made up primarily of Native Americans. In 1978 there were nine Navajos, three Hopis, and three Anglos on the board. The College of Ganado became independent from the Presbyterian Church in 1979. In that same year it was chartered by the Hopi Tribe and sanctioned by the Navajo Tribal Council. This qualified the school to apply for funds from PL 95–471. The initial allocation from PL 95–471 was $156,287, and later an emergency grant of $231,000 was awarded. The total for fiscal year 1980 was $387,287 which was approximately 25% of the total budget for that year. The Indian FTE on which the PL 95–471 allocations were based was 131 in 1980 (Olivas, 1981). This was the fourth largest Indian full-time equivalent of any tribally controlled college; only Navajo Community College, Sinte Gleska College, and Oglala Sioux Community College had larger Indian full-time equivalents (Table 3). Private gifts and grants to the College of Ganado totaled $167,323 in 1980 which was proportionally more than any other tribal college. This was probably a hold over from its years as a church affiliated institution.

Dr. Daniel Honahni, the Hopi president of College of Ganado in 1982, stated the funds from PL 95–471 probably saved the college from closing in 1980. He also said the only major difficulty was that AIHEC, the contracting agency, had trouble in obtaining appropriations promptly from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The College of Ganado offered Associate of Arts, Associate of Science, and Associate of Applied Science degrees. The curriculum was organized into three divisions: humanities, social science-business, and natural science-mathematics (*College of Ganado Catalog*, 1980–81). Prior to 1980 the college was funded by tuition, income from on-campus enterprises, private gifts, and federal grants. Financial support from the United Presbyterian Church was terminated in 1979.

The College of Ganado as of the late 1970s had several special educational entities operating under its auspices. One of these, the Navajo Academy, was a non-profit, independent preparatory school serving gifted and talented young people who wanted to further their education. The Academy stressed academic excellence and individualized programs. Most funding came from private sources. Although the Academy was independent from the College of Ganado, a few secondary students attended the college on a part-time basis. The Academy was founded in 1977 with twelve students and is governed by a board of trustees, most of whom are Navajos (*College of Ganado Catalog*, 1977–78). Other entities were the Navajo Alcoholism Training Program that prepared counselors to work with alcoholics, a serious problem on the reservation, and the Navajo Advocates Program that provided a series of weekend sessions for study of the Navajo legal system. This program was designed to prepare persons to take the Navajo Bar Examination. There was also a Career Studies Program, federally funded under the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA). This program offered vocationally oriented training in food service management and operation, office and sales, clerical work, hospital and health care, and institutional office and secretarial procedures. There was also a General Educational Development (GED) program to enable students to prepare for successful completion of the state high school equivalency examination (*College of Ganado Catalog*, 1977–78).

In the fall of 1980, 97% of the 210 students enrolled at College of Ganado were Indians, and 66% of these were over 21 years of age. As at other two-year tribal colleges, the majority (75%) of the students were women. There were 213 students enrolled at the college in the fall of 1982, and the percentage of Indians decreased slightly to 94.4% (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984).

The College of Ganado placed more emphasis on preparation of students for transfer to a four-year school than did most of the other tribal colleges. Between its first graduation in 1973 and 1981, a total of 157 persons received associate degrees of whom fifty percent went on to four-year colleges and universities. Of the 157, 22 had received a bachelors degree by 1981 and 11 of these were back on the Navajo or Hopi Reservation teaching school. Nearly all of the College of Ganado graduates who did not continue their education were employed full-time (*College of Ganado*, 1980).

College of Ganado was the only tribally controlled college to have been founded as an independent church-related institution. It has continued to benefit from private donations which are a result of the tradition of giving to support private higher education. Compared to other tribal colleges, there was more emphasis at College of Ganado on transfer programs and less on cultural reinforcement and service to the tribes. Navajo and Hopi studies were offered at Ganado, but the cultural influences were not as pervasive as they are at other tribal schools. Because the students come from both the Navajo and Hopi tribes, there was not the focus on one language and culture as at most other tribally controlled schools.

The College of Ganado benefited from the good reputation of the Ganado Mission and Hospital. Most Navajo and Hopi people see these institutions as having contributed to their welfare and a number of the leaders of these tribes attended the mission school as children. As the College of Ganado developed and moved away from the private college tradition, it became more similar to the other tribally controlled colleges.

Support and funding for the College of Ganado decreased in the mid 1980s forcing the college to close in 1986. Navajo Community College is offering some classes on the Ganado campus and some of the former College of Ganado students transferred to the NCC campus at Tsaile (Gipp, 1988).

This concludes the profiles of the nineteen tribally controlled colleges active in 1982. The next chapter summarizes and analyzes these unique tribal institutions for education of American Indians.

CHAPTER 3

Summary and Analysis of the Tribally Controlled Colleges in 1982

The previous chapter presented profiles of the nineteen tribally controlled colleges chartered between 1968 and 1979. This chapter contains a summary and analysis of information obtained from documents, personal and telephone interviews, and a few secondary sources. Conclusions drawn by the writer are also presented. A summary of descriptive characteristics of the tribally controlled colleges in the early 1980s is presented in Table 3.

As indicated in the profiles of the nineteen tribally controlled colleges, the national organization which contributed most to their establishment and development was the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC). Six tribal colleges were the charter members of this organization in 1972. The original headquarters of AIHEC was located in Denver, Colorado; in 1983 it moved to Washington, D.C. As of 1981, there were eighteen institutional members of AIHEC, most of which were located on or near Indian reservations in the western United States.

In 1979, the mission of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium was described as follows:

> The Consortium's mission can best be described as developmental technical assistance through such functions as the provision of training, support services, resource identification, and advocacy in the areas of: (1) research and data; (2) accreditation; (3) curriculum development; (4) financial and instructional resources; and (5) human resources development. The overall aim of the Consortium is to help strengthen the programs of the individual member institutions and to work toward establishing a modern higher education framework within which American Indians can receive the tools necessary for a productive life in whatever field they choose while at the same time retaining their individual cultural aspects. (AIHEC, n.d., p. 3)

The tribal college administrators interviewed in 1982 saw AIHEC as significant in forming a united front that was effective in promoting the Indian college movement, particularly in the passage of the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (PL 95-471). The administrators viewed AIHEC as especially effective in the early development of their institutions. In 1979 the leaders of AIHEC were Leroy Clifford, John Emhoolah, Jr., and Perry Horse. These three men and their staff worked diligently to promote the development of the tribally controlled colleges.

The Consortium was financed by funds from the member institutions and federal grants for special programs and services. A private grant from the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) provided technical assistance and resources to help the four non pre-accredited tribal colleges move toward application for accreditation. In 1987, the Consortium established the American Indian College Fund in order to facilitate financial contributions to tribally controlled colleges.

As pointed out in the preceding profiles, the tribal colleges are in varying stages of development and each has its unique characteristics. However, they do share the following similarities: tribally chartered governing boards composed entirely or

Table 3

Tribally Controlled Colleges in the United States

College and Location	Charter Date	Chartering Tribes	1981 Reservation Indian Population	1982 Total Enrollment	1982 Indian Enrollment	Degree(s) Offered	1984 Accreditation Status
Navajo Community College Tsaile, Arizona	1968	Navajo	160,722	1,311	1,241	Associate Bachelors	Accredited (1976)
Oglala Lakota College Kyle, South Dakota	1970	Oglala Sioux	13,417	665	599	Associate Bachelors	Accredited (1983)
Sinte Gleska College Rosebud, South Dakota	1971	Rosebud Sioux	9,484	246	201	Associate	Accredited (1983)
Standing Rock Community College Fort Yates, North Dakota	1972	Standing Rock Sioux	7,958	201	174	Associate	Accredited (1984)
Turtle Mountain Community College Belcourt, North Dakota	1972	Turtle Mountain Chippewa	8,656	233	201	Associate	Accredited (1984)
Cheyenne River Community College Eagle Butte, South Dakota	1973	Cheyenne River Sioux	4,449	—	—	Associate	Affiliated with Northern State College, SD
Fort Berthold Community College New Town, North Dakota	1973	Mandan, Arikara Hidatsa	3,194	67	56	Associate	Candidate (1981)
Lummi Community College Lummi Island, Washington	1973	Lummi	2,290	19	18	Associate	Candidate
Nebraska Indian Community College Winnebago, Nebraska	1973	Santee Sioux, Omaha and Winnebago	3,346	200	180	Associate	Candidate (1981)
Little Hoop Community College Fort Totten, North Dakota	1974	Devil's Lake Sioux	2,916	109 (1984)	95 (1984)	Associate	Candidate (1982)
Dull Knife Memorial College Lame Deer, Montana	1975	Northern Cheyenne	3,110	237 (1984)	221 (1984)	Associate	Candidate (NWAES)
Ojibwa Community College Baraga, Michigan	1975	L'anse-Vieux Band (Chippewa) Keweenaw	893	76	—	—	Affiliated with Michigan Tech. Univ.
Blackfeet Community College Browning, Montana	1976	Blackfeet	6,632	190	180	Associate	Accredited (NWAES) (1984)
Little Big Horn College Crow Agency, Montana	1977	Crow	4,969			Associate	Affiliated with Miles Comm. College, MT
Salish Kootenai College Pablo, Montana	1977	Salish-Kootenai	3,300	516	348	Associate	Candidate (NWAES)
D-Q University Davis, California	1977	Hoopa Valley and Soboba	2,273	257	177	Associate	Accredited (WASC)
Fort Peck Community College Poplar, Montana	1978	Assiniboine and Sioux	5,095			Associate	Affiliated with Miles Comm. College, MT
Sisseton Wahpeton Community College Sisseton, South Dakota	1979	Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux	3,730	252		Associate	Candidate (1984)
College of Ganado Ganado, Arizona	1979	Hopi	8,439	213	201	Associate	Accredited (1979)
Total			200,873				

primarily of Indians; predominantly Indian student bodies; isolated locations; reinforce and transmit tribal cultures; offer a practical curriculum geared to contemporary, local needs; and, to some extent, are community service oriented.

The First Annual American Indian and Alaskan Native Higher Education Conference was held in Rapid City, South Dakota, in April 1982. The major sponsors of this conference were AIHEC and Title IV Resource and Evaluation Centers. The conference attracted leaders in Indian higher education from throughout the United States and Canada. Major topics addressed included the role of the tribally controlled college in higher education, accreditation, energy and natural resource development, preparing students for trades and the job market, legislation on Indian education, financial aid programs, and developing a strategy for Indian higher education (*A Vision Quest*, 1982).

The national cutback in federal funding in the early 1980s had a detrimental effect on AIHEC and its services. This caused a reduction in staff, physical resources and services, and threatened the survival of this organization which had been so important to the tribal colleges. In 1983 AIHEC moved its headquarters to Washington, D.C. to be close to the federal decision makers and the major sources of funding for the Consortium and the tribally controlled colleges it serves.

As of 1982, what were the characteristics, strengths, and weaknesses of the nineteen tribally controlled colleges in the United States? At this time, little factual information was available in publications concerning these schools. Therefore, the writer traveled to thirteen of the tribal colleges to collect data and perceptions directly from persons at these institutions. Taped interviews were conducted with presidents, deans, faculty, staff members, and a few students on the campuses of these colleges. A 40-question structured interview was employed, but usually the interview ranged far beyond the questions on the form. Written materials varying greatly in type and amount were collected from each school visited. A list of the colleges visited, the primary persons interviewed, and the dates are included in the list of references.

The historical questions contained in the interviews supplied much of the information for the profiles of the tribally controlled colleges in Chapter II. Information for the profiles also came from institutional documents including catalogs, institutional profiles, annual reports, class schedules, enrollment summaries, and newspaper articles. Materials provided by AIHEC were also used in compiling the profiles. Telephone calls were made to three of the colleges the writer was unable to visit; information obtained through these calls was also utilized in this chapter.

In the belief that the most significant elements of a college are its human resources including students, faculty, and administrators, the main emphasis in the interviews and this chapter is placed on the characteristics and perceptions of these members of the tribal college community. Other aspects included are physical facilities, library resources, external influences, institutional goals and objectives, accreditation, student services, relations with other collegiate institutions, and several national trends pertaining to Indian higher education.

Students

The students enrolled in the tribally controlled colleges in the 1970s and 1980s were best described as "nontraditional." Although this term has perhaps been overused, if clearly defined it is appropriate. The Indian and some of the non-Indian students at the tribal colleges differed from the typical student at other community colleges in several ways. First, these students were in the great majority enrolled members of federally recognized Indian tribes and were residing on reservations. This in itself gave them a unique legal status and in most cases had implications for their previous education, values, and socioeconomic status. They were generally from homes with family incomes well below the poverty level. From 1980 to 1982 the unemployment on Indian reservations increased from 40% to nearly 80%, and on some reservations the annual family income averaged only $900. The average level of formal education was very low on all reservations, and tribal college students were often the first in their family to attempt postsecondary education. The differences in cultural values between white and tribal Indian life made it difficult for students to be successful in an educational system based on white values and behaviors (Oppelt, 1989).

The average age of students attending tribal colleges ranged from the late 20s to the mid-30s with a median for all schools of approximately 32 years.

Several persons interviewed at the tribal colleges believed that the average age of their students was declining. The reason given for this was that the tribal community college was beginning to attract more recent high school graduates. Many of the students at tribal colleges are married and have children which places special responsibilities on them and requires services such as day care at the colleges.

The proportion of Indian students in the student bodies of the tribal colleges varied from 75% to 80% at Little Hoop Community College to a high of almost 100% at Little Big Horn College and Lummi Community College. The median percent of Indian students for the thirteen schools for which there were data available was 86% to 90%. The overall proportion of non-Indians among the students had risen slightly in the early 1980s. This was apparently due to the broadened offerings and the improved reputation of these colleges among the local non-Indians. The proportion of Indian students in attendance at the tribal colleges had a direct economic effect on these institutions because PL 95-471 funding is based on the enrollment of full-time equivalent Indian students. Therefore, a high proportion of non-Indians would create higher educational costs with less income from this major source of federal funds. Administrators at several of the tribal colleges were concerned about the rising proportion of non-Indian students because of less revenue per student and the fact that if the proportion of non-Indians exceeded 50%, the school would be ineligible for PL 95-471 funding.

A significant finding of recent studies of higher education enrollments is the continued national underrepresentation of Indians in colleges and universities throughout the United States. Indians—both men and women—are the most underrepresented minority groups for which there are data (Astin, 1982). One of the major objectives of the tribal colleges is to increase Indian higher education enrollments and, more importantly, raise the number of American Indian graduates.

Within the national underrepresentation of Indians in higher education there are tribal and geographic differences among Indians in the percentage who enter postsecondary education. Among the assimilated groups the proportion attending college is close to the general population; but among Indians who reside mainly on western reservations, the college attendance is very low. It is primarily these western reservation Indians who are served by the tribally controlled colleges. There is a significantly larger proportion of women than men attending tribal colleges. All of the tribal colleges for which there are data enrolled more female than male students in 1982. The percentage of females at these schools ranged from a low of 57% at Fort Peck Community College to a high of 84% at Dull Knife Memorial College. The reasons for the preponderance of women in the student bodies of these colleges were not clear. Several probable reasons were elicited from the interviewees at the tribal colleges. At some tribal colleges, the curriculum was composed primarily of programs that prepare students for traditionally female occupations, i.e., teaching, secretarial, and nursing. Where this was the case, it obviously would account for the high proportion of women enrolled. A closely related factor which influenced the college curriculum was the type of jobs available on or near the reservation. At one-half of the schools studied, the majority of jobs on the reservation were with the federal government, tribal schools, or tribal administration. The most common jobs requiring postsecondary training were teaching, secretarial, health, and other human services which predominantly employ women. With a few exceptions, the jobs held by men on the reservations involve unskilled work in agriculture, road maintenance, and similar jobs. It appears that the jobs available and the curricula offered by the tribal colleges were the main factors accounting for the high proportion of women enrolled at some of the colleges.

However, even at the reservations where male-oriented jobs and college programs were available, women still outnumbered men in the tribal college enrollment. Several tribal college personnel interviewed speculated that there were cultural factors affecting the proportion of males to females enrolled. At some reservations the influence of the matriarchal society was still present, and many women were the main family financial providers. They realized they could better themselves and their family's economic status by obtaining postsecondary vocational training. It was also mentioned that most young Indian men do not view attending school as a very masculine activity and prefer more active occupations. This may be more of a general rural male attitude rather than one specifically related to being an Indian.

In the early 1980s there were slightly more Indian

men than women receiving bachelor's degrees in the United States. This may indicate that the preponderance of females in tribal colleges is influenced by a lack of opportunity or encouragement for reservation women to attend four-year off-reservation institutions.

It is probable that all of these factors influence, to varying degrees, the proportion of males to females enrolled at each tribal college. It was of concern to some tribal college administrators that there was a relatively low proportion of males among their students. Two schools were planning to institute expanded offerings in agriculture, forestry, auto mechanics, and welding to attract more male students. All of these are expensive programs. On the reservations where the average age of the students is decreasing, it may mean that more young men are choosing to enter college soon after high school. If this does occur, it would be advisable for college officials to survey the occupational choices and needs of males in local high schools.

According to the campus interviews, the Indian community college students had certain characteristics which enabled them to overcome the obstacles of poverty, poor academic preparation, and family responsibilities. One nearly unanimous view was that the maturity and life experiences of most of these students were important factors in their educational success. Most of them had worked full-time, experienced the responsibilities of parenthood, and understood the advantages of postsecondary education. They knew what was needed to get a better job and realized the improved financial status and increased feeling of self-worth that comes with acquisition of skills and/or knowledge not possessed by their peers. Terms used to describe their students' strengths were: "a lot of fight" "intestinal fortitude," "hang in there," "survivors," "persistent," and "willing to sacrifice." It is evident to anyone who has worked in higher education that persons with these qualities are going to have a high rate of success in attaining their goals.

Another factor that was important to the students' success was the support of their families. They often mentioned that the support of spouse, parents, children, and even grandchildren was essential in their educational success. The pride shown by relatives at commencement when the first person in their family receives a college degree is a heartwarming experience, and one of the greatest satisfactions of Indian higher education. When it has taken six years of study to attain an associate degree, the pride and accomplishment of the entire family is incomparable to that of most traditional white students. At such times, it is evident that higher education is valued by these families.

Overall, the morale and spirit of the students at the tribal colleges was judged as high by the staff and only slightly lower by the students interviewed. The two schools where morale was not seen as high were where recent events, such as an unpopular administrative change or budget cuts, affecting programs and services had temporarily caused concern. Although the tribal colleges were all relatively young, their reputations and the concomitant pride of their students appeared to be increasing. Several interviewees believed increased student activities, in particular intercollegiate athletic teams, would increase student morale and espirit de corps.

The great range of age among the students was another characteristic of students at tribal colleges. In one Indian language class, the students ranged in age from 17 to 77 years. This might be a difficult situation at some colleges, but it works well at this tribal college. As previously defined, a high proportion of tribal college students are reservation Indians (sometimes termed traditionals) rather than acculturated Indians who predominate at non-tribal schools. There is also a higher percentage of full blooded Indians at tribal colleges. Whether an Indian student is a more traditional or acculturated is determined less by their blood quantum than by where and by whom they were raised and where they live. As one faculty member said, "We have real Indians here, not your drugstore Indian that was raised in the city" (Lane, 1982). It is not known specifically how this influences their education, but it is true that many of the students at tribal colleges come from as traditional "Indian" homes as existed in the early 1980s. As indicated in the profiles, the proportion of acculturated Indians varies significantly from one reservation to another. Isolation of some tribes has preserved more of their traditional culture, making it more difficult for them to accommodate to higher formal education.

Faculty

Another important group on the tribal college campuses is the faculty. The interviews refuted some commonly held misconceptions about the persons who teach at these institutions. At most tribal col-

leges the majority of the faculty were non-Indians. In 1982, only at Dull Knife Memorial College, Blackfeet Community College, and Oglala Sioux Community College were more than one-half of the full-time teachers Indians. The percentage of Indian faculty members ranged from 33% to 86% with a median of 50%. Several of these colleges were attempting to hire more Indian faculty, but they were not available in some vocational specialties. As the tribal colleges graduate more Indians in the needed fields, the proportion of Indians among the faculties will increase.

All of the tribal college administrators interviewed considered that, with a few exceptions, their faculty were well prepared for their teaching and related responsibilities. Several schools had a high proportion of part-time faculty. In a decentralized institution, the advantages of a full-time faculty are not as great as at a school with a centralized campus. The retention of faculty was not a problem at these Indian colleges; however, several schools reported a higher rate of turnover among non-Indian faculty members. This apparently was due to the isolation of most reservation towns and the lack of services, cultural activities, and good elementary and secondary schools. On some reservations it was very difficult for non-Indians to find adequate housing. Another cause of turnover was the temporary appointments given to some non-Indians. They were hired with the stipulation that they would be employed until a qualified Indian could be found to replace them. In spite of these conditions, there were a number of non-Indian faculty and administrators who had worked for a number of years at a tribal college. Most of these were local persons who were compatible with the reservation conditions and well accepted by the Indians.

The faculty morale at the tribal colleges was generally good. The two schools where faculty morale was somewhat low in 1982 had recently experienced a decrease in federal funding causing the loss of programs and services and salary freezes or reductions. Even at some of the schools where salaries were low and raises minimal morale was high.

In summary, the faculty members at the tribal colleges were predominantly non-Indians who were well prepared for their responsibilities. There was little turnover, and they were generally well satisfied with their jobs in spite of the relatively low pay and isolated life on the reservation. The faculty who persisted were dedicated persons who enjoyed their work and received satisfaction from making a major contribution to Indian higher education.

Administrators

Most of the administrators at the tribal colleges in 1982 were Indians. The lowest percentage of Indian administrators was 50%, and several schools had entirely Indian administrations. At some schools, non-Indians had served in administrative positions until a qualified Indian administrator could be employed. The Indian administrators at the tribal colleges did not all support the concept that an all Indian faculty and administration was ideal. As mentioned previously, an objective of most tribal colleges was to retain educated Indians on the reservation through employment at the college. Qualifications for working at a tribal college differ somewhat from those at non-Indian institutions. In addition to the necessary professional knowledge and expertise, the person must have a knowledge of and appreciation for the local Indian culture.

Initially there were problems at certain Indian schools finding Indian administrators who were experienced in some of the administrative specialties in higher education. At several colleges, the fiscal and personnel record keeping and reporting were poorly managed. The enrollment statistics necessary for reporting to the federal government lacked accuracy in some cases. This has been remedied since Indian administrators learned how to keep records and deal with the federal bureaucracy. Characteristics and conflicts of Indian tribal college administrators are discussed in the section on strengths and weaknesses at tribally controlled colleges. In two or three schools the tribal council has unduly interfered with the administration of the college, but more commonly the council has been very cooperative and supportive of the efforts of the college administrators.

Physical Facilities

Judged by the standard of other community colleges in the United States, the physical facilities of the tribally controlled community colleges are very inadequate. However, a decentralized delivery system, which is the most common pattern at the tribal

colleges, has different needs than a school located on a centralized campus. The previously mentioned characteristics of the tribal college students also imply a need for different physical facilities. For example, a college in a centralized location removed from a town (such as Navajo Community College at Tsaile, Arizona) needs residence halls and food services whereas in a dispersed organization (such as Oglala Lakota College) these services are unnecessary. Other than Navajo Community College (NCC), the only tribal college with residence halls and food services is Dull Knife Memorial College (DKMC).

Most of the tribal college administrators and faculty interviewed in 1982 rated their physical facilities as inadequate. The most frequently expressed need was for more classrooms. At nine of the schools this was mentioned as a high priority need. Another need at the majority of the schools was a student lounge or student center. Only four or five schools had an adequate place for students to gather and relax between classes and hold social functions. Lack of library space and holdings was another common problem of the tribal colleges. At the decentralized colleges it was impossible to have a complete library at each college center. Local libraries were utilized by students, but few reservation towns have an adequate library. At three of the colleges, the college library was located in a tribal administration building that was locked after business hours so books were not available in the evenings. Three of the schools with the best library holdings were NCC, Turtle Mountain Community College (TMCC), and Salish Kootenai College. The best library buildings were at NCC and DKMC.

Aesthetically, the most attractive campuses are at NCC, Salish Kootenai College, and Oglala Lakota College. All of these colleges have modern buildings situated in surroundings of natural beauty. At the other end of the scale were Fort Berthold Community College and Blackfeet Community College whose physical facilities, as of 1982, were inadequate and poorly maintained.

DKMC and TMCC both had sites and tentative plans for new campuses. In 1982 the administrators at these colleges were hopeful that these plans would be implemented but realized that the federal budget was tight and that construction funds might be cut from PL 95-471. The outlook was not bright. Other physical facilities listed as needs at one or more tribal colleges were gymanasia, science laboratories, vocational education facilities, and offices.

Student Services

The availability of student services at the nineteen tribal colleges varied considerably, ranging from NCC with good overall services to Little Big Horn Community College with deficiencies in almost all areas. Considering all of the tribal colleges, counseling was the most adequately provided service. Not in the sense that highly trained clinical counselors were employed but that there were faculty, staff, and administrators at each college who had the knowledge and willingness to help the student needing assistance. It has been found at four-year institutions that Indians prefer an Indian counselor (Haviland et al., 1985); and all the tribal colleges have dedicated Indian staff who are available to talk to students. This is an important factor in the success of these institutions.

Day care for the children of students and staff was one of the most frequently mentioned unmet needs. Several schools had some day care, but DKMC had to close its facility because the federal funding was decreased. TMCC and NCC had well organized and effective day care that met most of the needs of both students and staff. As with other services, the need for day care varies, depending on the proportion of students with young children, numbers of full-time students, size of the college community, and other day care facilities available in the community.

Social activities, athletics, student government, and other activities were minimal at most campuses, but the need for them was not high due to the characteristics of the students and the dispersed organization at most of the tribal colleges. If the average age of the students at some of the tribal colleges continues to decline, there may be an increased need for social activities, student government, and interscholastic athletics at these schools. In the early 1980s, most of the tribal college students met their social needs through the family and community. The tribal colleges are primarily commuter schools; only NCC had a residential campus isolated from a community which caused a need for a variety of services and out-of-class activities (Oppelt, 1975). The administrators at Dull Knife Memorial College placed a high priority on the improvement of student services.

As of 1982, little formal assessment had been done of the needs of students at tribal colleges in the area of student personnel services. At Salish

Kootenai College a survey of graduates indicated a need for more student services and activities. Day care was specifically mentioned as an unmet need. It would be advisable for other tribal colleges to do at least an informal student needs assessment to determine what services are perceived as most needed and base planning for the future on such information.

College Objectives

An important factor influencing the needed human resources, physical facilities, student services, and all other facets of a college are objectives and goals of the institution. An examination of tribal college documents and the writer's campus interviews indicates that there are four broad, common objectives of tribally controlled colleges. These are vocational education, transfer or general education, cultural reinforcement and transmission, and service to the chartering tribe or tribes. During campus interviews in 1982, the writer asked administrators at 13 tribal colleges to rank the four objectives listed above as they were emphasized at his/her institution and to add major objectives not included under these four areas.

The composite ranking for all schools showed that transfer education and vocational education were closely ranked as number one and number two, respectively. Far below in third place was cultural reinforcement and transmission, and service to the tribe(s) was a distant fourth. Two college administrators rated cultural reinforcement as the number one priority, but actual programs and written materials at the schools did not coincide with this high ranking. Two other administrators ranked service to the tribe as number one and number two, respectively, but nearly all the others ranked it at the bottom as number four. These two high rankings for tribal services may have resulted from a misunderstanding of this objective because the college programs and services show other objectives were being allocated most of the resources. This indicates a discrepancy between stated objectives and actual allocation of resources at some tribal colleges. It should be emphasized that the few persons interviewed at each school—primarily the presidents—were not a representative sample of the various constituencies. It is likely that the priorities of the several constituencies including tribal members, faculty, students, and others vary to some degree.

Written goals and objectives of the tribal colleges all included transfer education and vocational education. Cultural reinforcement and preservation was included in the written statements of all but one school, and some reference to tribal service was included in most of the written materials. At two colleges research was included as a major objective. This was related to the training of faculty and administrators which stressed the importance of research in higher education. In the written statements of these schools research is only tangentially mentioned as a goal if resources are available for all higher objectives.

External Influences

In the founding and development of all tribal colleges (except for NCC), external influences have played an important role, most commonly in a positive direction. The staff of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was of valuable assistance in the development of these unique institutions. In a number of cases, the state education officials and state board of education of the state in which the reservation is located were of assistance. The external institutions that contributed the most were the nearby two-year colleges, particularly in Montana and North Dakota. Without the help of the personnel at these schools it would have been much more difficult for the tribes to establish their own colleges. Some four-year colleges also facilitated the development of tribal schools, but others were initially not willing to get involved with these struggling colleges. The specific two-year and four-year colleges and universities involved in the founding and growth of each tribal college are identified in the profiles in Chapter 2. The National Congress of American Indians and the National Indian Education Association were supportive of the tribal college movement, specifically in promoting PL 95-471. The National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) has continually been supportive of tribally controlled community colleges in its annual reports and testimony to the United States Congress (NACIE, 1974, 1976, 1978).

Several non-Indians made major contributions to the tribal community college development. Some served as administrators or faculty members in the early years of the tribal colleges. In a few cases, the relationship of these non-Indians to other members

of the college staff deteriorated when they were replaced by Indians they believed less qualified to do the job. However, in most cases they realized theirs was a temporary role, and they willingly stepped aside and assisted their Indian successor in the transition.

Four-Year College Status

During the 1960s and 1970s a number of two-year colleges in the United States sought and attained the status of four-year degree granting institutions. In the latter 1970s and early 1980s this trend was slowed by the reduced enrollments in higher education and the national financial recession. Did the tribally controlled two-year colleges aspire to become four-year colleges? In general, they did not; but two of these institutions have become four-year schools and two others have been considering a change. In 1983, Oglala Lakota College (formerly Oglala Sioux Community College) and Sinte Gleska College became the first two tribal colleges to be accredited at both the associate and bachelor's degree levels. Navajo Community College has been considering a move to four-year status for some time, and staff at Little Big Horn college has given some thought to such a change. NCC has the staff, enrollment, and facilities to provide four-year programs, but the writer believes the other tribal colleges should work to strengthen their present two-year programs before moving to more advanced work. The economic recession of the early 1980s and the enrollment declines have made it very difficult to maintain small four-year institutions, and a number of these schools have had to close.

Four-Year Indian University

Since the 1960s there has been some discussion of the establishment of a national Indian university that would offer at least four-year programs and perhaps graduate and professional degrees. Some consideration has been given to making Haskell Indian Junior College a four-year Indian college; and the staff at Bacone College, a private school, has given some thought to such a change (Chavers, 1979). The tribal college administrators interviewed in 1982 were generally favorable to the idea of a national, four-year Indian university. However, several believed it should be a senior level school and not offer the first two years of bachelor's programs. Most of them did not believe funds should be taken from the three existing federal, two-year Indian schools to fund an Indian university. As would be expected, none of the tribal college administrators or faculty were in favor of establishing an Indian university if it would result in reduced funding for their tribal colleges. Another concern was the location of this proposed university. The interviewees said that unless it was in their region it would not be well-utilized by their people. The concept of an Indian university is discussed further in Chapter 5.

Views on Community Colleges and Education of American Indians

Prior to the present study, little had been written specifically concerning tribally controlled community colleges, but a few persons have expressed their views about the appropriateness of such schools for the postsecondary education of Indians on reservations and in Indian communities.

As early as 1938, Dolan expressed the opinion that two-year colleges were uniquely suited to meeting the educational needs of many Indians. His view may have been influenced by the prevailing idea that Indians were best suited for vocational training rather than academic programs. Other writers have supported the view that community colleges are ideally suited in philosophy and design to serve the unique needs of tribal reservation Indians because they are more flexible than four year schools and can accommodate the cultural differences and local conditions of the Indian community (Hunt, 1946; Sando, 1969; Shannon, 1972; Gover, 1973; Locke, 1973; Medicine, 1975; Kickingbird, 1976; Astin, 1982).

Joe S. Sando, a Pueblo Indian, wrote in 1969 concerning the advantages of community colleges for Indian students:

> It is suggested that a community college would be more advantageous to the Indian student than a large university since the emphasis in the smaller school is on meeting the needs of the students and not on research. It is also noted that the heavy emphasis on counseling and guidance provided at the community colleges is desirable for the Indian student especially if a counselor with an Indian background can be found. (p. 7)

Lynn Kickingbird (1976) lists a number of rationales to substantiate the need for the continuation and expansion of the Native American community college. The Native American community college:

1. Provides for the unmet needs of Indians.
2. Corrects lack of career education to meet the manpower needs of the reservation.
3. Makes higher education available to the total tribal community.
4. Is less expensive than off-reservation education.
5. Offers the potential to increase the number of Indian people who can go to college.
6. Suits the needs of the older Indian student.
7. Decreases the distance Indians must travel to attend classes.
8. Provides cultural continuity.
9. Prepares students for four-year institutions.
10. Provides a means for continuing education.
11. Supports tribal services and programs.
12. Increases exchange between Indian and non-Indian cultures (pp. 9-11).

The "Old West Report" edited by Perry Horse for AIHEC in 1979 gives a good summary of the characteristics and objectives of tribally controlled community colleges at that time. In part, the preface of this report states: "The growth of tribally-controlled community colleges is one of the most impressive success stories in the history of American Indian education" (p. iii).

In his comprehensive study of minorities in American higher education, Alexander Astin (1982) wrote:

> The relatively recent American Indian community college movement demonstrates how effective these institutions can be in responding to the immediate needs of the community by affording career associate degree programs in such areas as range management, animal husbandry, and practical nursing. (p. 192)

However, Astin also pointed to the high proportion of Indians and other minority students in two-year colleges as one reason for their low level of completion at the bachelor's degree level. His data indicate persons aspiring to a four-year degree who matriculate at a two-year school are less likely to reach their goal than are those who initially enroll at a four-year school.

The views included above indicate the strong support for community colleges as the most effective way to provide for the postsecondary needs of tribal Indians, particularly those living on reservations or in rural Indian communities. As it related to the growth of self determination and local control of Indian education, the tribal community college movement between 1968 and 1980 was a development of great significance. This movement was given legal support by the passage of PL 93-368 (Indian Self Determination) and the Educational Assistance Act of 1975. This law provided for increased self determination for Indians in education and other areas of management of tribal programs and services (88 Stat. 2203).

Concerning the future of tribally controlled colleges, Sioux leaders Lowell Amiotte and Gerald One Feather (1973) wrote:

> True success of the Indian community colleges will come about when the public at large understands the goals of higher education for Indians and the fact that Indian people are able to manage their own higher education system. . . . If non-Indian people will expand their definition of higher education . . . they will be able to support us in our efforts. (p. 165)

As of 1982, this understanding had not come about. Part of the lack of progress is the result of insufficient promotion and publicity of these schools by the chartering tribes and news media. The mass media has focused attention on the problems of the tribal colleges with D-Q University getting an abundance of negative publicity in the California papers. The tribal colleges need to put more effort into bringing the accomplishments of their students and graduates before the public. Navajo Community College has done this through a newsletter and other materials highlighting the successes of its alumni.

In 1974 Gerald One Feather made prophetic recommendations concerning the future of Indian higher education. He wrote that Indian colleges should be based on the concept of self determination and the strengths of the Indian people; that, excepting the Navajos, Indian tribes are not large enough to support a centralized community college with full-time students; and that the unique tribe-federal relationship which guarantees the Federal support and right of the tribes to govern themselves must be maintained and expanded (cited in Deloria, 1974, p. 41).

The views included above indicate the strong support among Indians and non-Indians for the tribally controlled college movement in the 1970s and early 1980s. Other than Astin's concern for the low pro-

portion of two-year college students completing a bachelor's degree, only one other criticism of the tribally controlled colleges was found. A few educators believe that attending a reservation two-year college only postpones the inevitable move to the white institutions where Indians must learn to achieve vocational and personal survival in a pluralistic society.

The writer believes that the two-year tribal colleges provide a bridge between the tribal reservation culture and the dominant white world that will increase the probability of educational success for more Indian students. Further research on graduates of Indian tribal colleges is needed to determine the effects on educational and vocational outcomes for Indians who attend these institutions.

Tribal College Funding

As pointed out throughout the profiles of the tribal colleges, by far the greatest problems of the nineteen tribally controlled colleges are caused by a lack of sufficient funding. Initial funding for these colleges was obtained from Title III grants usually awarded to an accredited sponsoring institution of higher education in the area. Other funds came from a variety of small federal education programs on the reservations. In spite of the strong tribal support received by most of the colleges, except for the Navajos, funds from tribal sources were minimal. The tribes did not have sufficient capital to allocate any but token amounts to their college. Tribes cannot tax their lands, so this common form of fund raising for state and district community colleges is not available. Private sources have provided small amounts of funding, particularly at College of Ganado, Navajo Community College, Dull Knife Memorial College, and Sinte Gleska College. State funds have not been a source of funding for most tribal colleges because the state officials have seen these schools as private institutions and Indian education as a federal responsibility. In the early 1980s some tribal college students were granted state scholarships and other state financial aid.

In 1971 the United States Congress passed the Navajo Community College Assistance Act. This act provided that federal funds could be appropriated to Navajo Community College for its operation based on the full-time equivalent Indian enrollment at the school and that funds could be provided for a limited amount of capital construction for a new campus. This was an important breakthrough because it established a precedent for direct federal aid to Indian postsecondary institutions other than those operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although funding is much better than in the years before 1971, the Navajos still have to annually lobby their congressmen and budget committees for appropriations for their college.

Prior to 1978, tribal colleges other than NCC lived virtually a hand-to-mouth existence. The annual federal programs upon which they depended for most of their funding might or might not be continued. Even those continuing programs might have funding cuts causing reductions in personnel and supplies at their college. With programs being funded for only one or two years at the most, it was impossible to do much long range planning and retain the top faculty and staff. Research data and interviews with the tribal college administrators by the writer in 1982 substantiated that the lack of stable financial support was the major obstacle to these schools reaching their potential. The presidents had to spend nearly all of their time seeking funding and had little time for the important duties of managing the institution. The futures of these schools depended upon the vagaries of political manipulations at the federal level over which Indians had little, if any, influence.

The most significant piece of legislation in the field of American Indian higher education was the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (PL 95-471). This act provided the first reasonably stable funding for the qualified tribal colleges. It was the result of much effort on the part of Indian leaders and their supporters in the state and federal governments. The American Indian Higher Education Consortium coordinated the efforts of the tribes with tribal colleges toward the eventual passage of PL 95-471 which was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on October 7, 1978. The assistance from this act was not prompt as indicated by the fact that the first operating funds were not received by the qualified tribal colleges until June 1980.

As defined in PL 95-471, a tribally controlled college was:

> An institution formally sanctioned or chartered by the governing body of an Indian tribe or tribes, except that no more than one such institution shall be recognized with respect to any such tribe. (Definition #4)

The overall purpose of Title 1 of PL 95-471 was to:

> Provide grants for the operation and improvement of tribally controlled community colleges and to insure continued and expanded opportunities for Indian students. (Section 101)

Tribes with tribally chartered community colleges could apply for grants from the Secretary of the Interior to defray expenses of activities related to education programs for the postsecondary education of Indian students (Section 102b). To be eligible for these grants, a tribally controlled college must be:

1. Governed by a board, a majority of which are Indians;
2. Demonstrates adherence to stated goals, a philosophy, or a plan of operation which is directed to meet the needs of Indians; and
3. If in operation for more than one year, has students a majority of whom are Indians. (Section 102)

In addition to the existing tribally controlled colleges, two colleges—D-Q University and College of Ganado—became chartered by Indian tribes and reorganized their governing boards to meet the above criteria and become eligible for PL 95-471 funding. These institutions are described and discussed in Chapter 2.

In order to be eligible for PL 95-471 funding, a tribally controlled college must request a feasibility study. The feasibility studies have posed problems for several colleges because of the time taken to conduct them. The excessive time taken by the BIA to disperse the funds appropriated caused the first schools to have to wait one and one-half years between the passage of the act and receipt of the first funds. In February 1980, tribal leaders were critical of the slowness with which the federal officials were moving in making funds available to the colleges (Middleton, 1980). The tribal colleges were having severe financial problems and several needed these funds to survive.

In the initial grants, priority was given to colleges with sufficient students and those in operation at the time the act was passed. The Secretary of the Interior was instructed to the extent practical to consult with national Indian organizations and tribal governments when considering the grant applications. In the first year grants were awarded, the number of grants was limited to a minimum of eight and a maximum of fifteen (Section 106).

In Section 107(a) of the Act it was stated that:

> The Secretary shall, for each academic year, grant each tribally controlled college having an application approved by him an amount equal to $4,000 for each full-time equivalent Indian student in attendance during that year.

Section 107 also noted that advance payments of not less than forty percent of the funds available for allotment could be made by the Secretary based upon anticipated or actual numbers of full-time equivalent Indian students.

In the first few years the tribal colleges did not receive $4,000 per full-time equivalent Indian student. The BIA did not request the maximum per student. In fiscal year 1980 the average amount actually received per Indian full-time equivalency by the colleges was $3,101. This amount was inadequate when it is considered that in the late 1970s the direct appropriations for education of an Indian student at Haskell Indian Junior College were over $5,000 per annum. The estimated allocations from PL 95-471 for fiscal year 1981 were $3,421 per full-time equivalent Indian student (Olivas, 1981).

The statement of authorized appropriations is included in Section 109 of the act. Funds were authorized for the succeeding three fiscal years in the following amounts: 1979—$25 million; 1980—$25 million; 1981—$30 million. The appropriations for technical assistance for each of these three years was $3.2 million. The amount actually allocated to the tribal colleges for fiscal year 1980 was $11,405,356 and the estimated amount for FY 1981 was $8,863,000. The decrease was due to the overpayment made to Navajo Community College in FY 1980. The actual allocations for technical assistance and feasibility studies for 1980 were $600,000 and $400,000, respectively.

Because it already had funding from the Navajo Community College Assistance Act of 1971, a separate title (Title II) was included in PL 95-471 for NCC. Title II provided for a study of the facilities at NCC similar to those for the other tribal colleges and for construction grants for its new campus.

In spite of the problems associated with the implementation of PL 95-471, it was a milestone in the development of the tribal colleges. The importance of the act to each tribal college is included in the profiles. Although they still had to fight for the annual funding of PL 95-471, they could present a more effective, unified front, and their funding became more stable than in previous years. Table 4 presents the amounts of money actually allocated to

Table 4
Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act Appropriations

School and Title	FY 1980		FY 1981	
	Indian FTE	Grant	Estimated Indian FTE	Estimated Grant
Title I				
Blackfeet CC	83	$ 264,761	199	$ 680,779
D-Q University	76	242,431	82	280,522
Dull Knife Mem. C	93	296,709	93	318,153
Ft. Berthold CC	—	—	38	129,998
College of Ganado	131	156,287	82	280,522
Little Hoop CC	35	111,646	42	143,682
Nebraska Indian CC	109	329,453	106	362,974
Oglala Sioux CC	282	833,703	214	732,094
Salish Kootenai C	90	297,079	125	427,625
Sinte Gleska C	173	551,851	173	591,833
Sisseton-Wahpeton CC	—	—	66	225,786
Standing Rock CC	111	354,078	85	290,985
Turtle Mountain CC	107	341,318	107	366,047
Total Title I	1,290	$ 3,779,316	1,412	$4,831,000
		+231,000		
		$ 4,010,316		
Title II				
Navajo CC	1,600	$ 6,405,000	793	$3,172,000
Feasibility studies		400,000		50,000
Technical assistance		600,000		600,000
Total Title II		$ 7,405,000		$3,822,000
GRAND TOTAL		$11,415,316		$8,653,000
Snyder Act (Supplemental Funds)				
College of Ganado		$ 506,000		
Oglala Sioux CC		117,180		$ 133,000
Sinte Gleska C		358,300		136,500
Turtle Mountain CC		93,700		80,500
Total Snyder Act		$ 1,075,180		$ 350,000

NOTE: College of Ganado received an emergency grant of $231,000 in 1980.
NOTE: From M. A. Olivas, (1981) "The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978: The Failure of Federal Indian Higher Education Policy," *American Indian Law Review*, 9, 291-251.

each of the fourteen eligible colleges in FY 1980 and the estimated appropriations for sixteen colleges in FY 1981.

The fact that PL 95-471 did not live up to the expectations of Indian education leaders for the solution of most of the tribal colleges' financial woes was due to three factors: delays caused by bureaucratic red tape in federal departments, particularly the BIA and the Office of Management and Budget; the impoverished conditions of the tribally controlled colleges; and design flaws in PL 95-471 (Olivas, 1981). Most of these could be corrected if the federal officials and the tribal leaders would cooperate better on the implementation of the act and its provisions.

The national economic recession of the early 1980s had a significant effect on all federal programs, particularly funding for Indian and other minority higher education programs and institutions. Early in 1983 President Reagan vetoed the funding for PL 95-471. In doing this he stated:

> College level Indian education has never been characterized in law or treaty as a trust responsibility of the federal government, and to do so now would potentially create legal obligations that are not clearly intended or understood. (*Wassaja*, 1983, p. 6)

The administrative policies of the Interior Department under the leadership of Secretary James Watt were reminiscent of the termination movement of the 1950s. Fortunately, Watt was forced to resign before he was able to implement his plans to remove the "socialism" on Indian reservations. Reagan's statement and Watt's desire to deny the tribal Indians their rights were strong evidence that the fight to find support for the tribally controlled colleges would continue through at least 1988 and that AIHEC and Indians' allies would need to work to override presidential opposition in the future.

Accreditation of Tribally Controlled Colleges

Another problem faced by the tribal colleges in their early years was the difficulty and expense of gaining accreditation by the regional accrediting associations. These associations were initially reluctant to approve Indian languages, philosophy, and other aspects of Indian cultures as equivalent to studies of European cultures or to approve Indian teachers who lacked traditional academic credentials. Locke (1977) recommended the establishment of an Indian college accrediting association if it could gain the support of the tribes. In the late 1970s there was much discussion of establishing an accrediting association for Indian colleges. In 1979 the members of AIHEC were formulating plans to form such an organization. They were working on standards and

planning to hold several pilot accreditation visits to member schools.

Concurrently, most of the tribal colleges were moving ahead to seek accreditation by their regional association. By 1982 Navajo Community College, College of Ganado, and D-Q University all had received full two-year college accreditation by their respective regional associations. Ten other tribal colleges had gained candidate for accreditation status, and in another year several would be eligible for full accreditation. The remaining four tribal colleges were corresponding with their regional association to gain candidacy status.

Although regional accreditation was expensive and time consuming, the fears that accreditation would require that the tribal colleges give up their unique objectives and practices were unwarranted. The schools were able to move toward accreditation by convincing the visitation teams that they were meeting their objectives and serving the needs of the local Indian people in the manner that was most appropriate and effective.

A survey carried out by Joseph McDonald, president of Salish Kootenai College, in 1981 compared accreditation practices in Indian community colleges to those in non-Indian community colleges. He found that although most tribal college presidents seemed to favor the concept of an independent association for the accreditation of Indian colleges, the other administrators and faculty did not believe this was a wise course. They felt that the self-studies and recommendations of the visitation teams were helpful to their colleges. They were concerned about the major expenditure of funds and manpower needed for the continued support of an independent Indian college accrediting association. More importantly, they believed that a new separate association would find it difficult to establish the credibility and prestige of the existing associations. If Indian colleges were accredited by their own separate association, their credibility might be questioned by their colleagues at non-Indian colleges affecting the transfer of credit and status of their programs.

In interviews with administrators and faculty of the tribal colleges in 1982, it was the consensus that the efforts to gain accreditation were progressing satisfactorily and that their schools were not being forced to change directions which would prevent them from pursuing their original goals or serving their students in the best manner. Several interviewees mentioned that a separate Indian college accrediting association might have meant that their institutions would never have been accepted as "real colleges." It appeared that the former plans to form a separate agency for the accreditation of tribal colleges had little support.

Administrators at Tribally Controlled Colleges

In the early years of tribally controlled colleges, there were too few Indians with the training and experience in the administration of higher education to staff the growing numbers of tribal colleges. Some schools, such as Navajo Community College, employed non-Indians in the upper administrative positions for a few years while they developed the expertise of the Indian staff to take over the administration. Some schools which relied solely on Indians with no assistance from non-Indians had more initial problems but, after some changes, developed competent administrative staffs. All of the tribal colleges have eventually employed Indians, and a few non-Indians, who are dedicated and have learned by experience to administer their colleges.

A study of Indian administrators at tribally chartered community colleges in 1980 concluded that many needed more training and experience to be more effective. Few had advanced training in educational administration or administrative experience beyond their present position. These administrators saw two roles as being most important to the institution. These were advisor to the non-Indian personnel on campus and a mediator in the inevitable personal conflicts among faculty, staff and students (Isaac, 1980).

The Indian administrators studied found that their most common problems resulted from conflicting commitments to the institution and the Indian community. Specifically, they found a conflict in attempting to be a role model for other Indians and also administering the college. Another problem was permitting conflict to become the primary initiator of institutional change. They were too often being reactive to conflicting demands and did not have the time and resources to be proactive (Isaac, 1980).

In spite of the deficiencies and conflicts mentioned above, the Indian tribal college administrators were accomplishing a great deal with their depth of understanding of both the Indian and

white cultures and their efforts to inculcate the traditional Indian philosophy into the white based programs and services of their schools. Few, if any, non-Indian administrators could have accomplished this.

In addition to the financial, accreditation, and administrative obstacles mentioned by the tribal administrators, other less pervasive obstacles include geographical isolation, lack of human resources, and lack of awareness of the potential of the college among community members. One administrator believed the college had been penalized for moving too slowly in its founding and development.

Other Influences on Tribal Colleges

A great variance in reservation tribal populations is evident with a range from 893 Indians at the Chippewa Keweenaw Bay Reservation to the 180,000 Indians on the huge Navajo Reservation in Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah (1981). The reservations with the larger populations were the first to charter tribal colleges. Although there are exceptions, the reservations with larger populations have better developed colleges. The number of full-time equivalent Indian students is, as would be expected, proportional to the Indian reservation population; and because PL 95-471 appropriations are based on Indian full-time equivalency, these are also related to the Indian populations. Whether or not a tribal college was ruled feasible for PL 95-471 funding in 1980 is partially a function of the school's accreditation status at that time. All of the fully accredited colleges received funds, and all of the schools lacking at least candidacy status were ruled non-feasible. Of the nine pre-accredited colleges, seven were ruled feasible and two non-feasible. The data on these factors are shown in Table 3.

Conclusions Concerning Tribally Controlled Colleges

The examination of tribally controlled colleges in the early 1980s supports the conclusion that these unique institutions are making a significant contribution to Indians of the chartering tribes and other residents of the reservations and adjacent communities. The tribal colleges are coordinating post-secondary education on the reservations which previously had only scattered courses offered by colleges in the area. The tribal colleges are meeting, to varying degrees, their four objectives of providing vocational education, transfer or general education, preserving and transmitting the various tribal cultures, and serving the chartering tribes in a number of areas. They are providing for the first time the opportunity for Indians in isolated areas to attend college because they are accessible and their programs and services are tailored to meet the needs of local people. Preliminary information indicates that students who attend tribal colleges have lower attrition rates and are more likely to attain their educational objectives than are those who attend off-reservation institutions. Data from longitudinal studies are needed to test this conclusion.

The pride evidenced by many Indians as they speak of "our college" indicates they are beginning to see higher education as a part of their culture rather than solely a white controlled institution. This change has great potential for the development of these people and their tribes.

A unique objective of all tribal colleges and that which distinguishes them most from other community colleges is their commitment to preservation and transmission of the cultures of the chartering tribe(s). Although the long term effects of these efforts cannot be predicted, it appears from interviews with college officials and enrollments in Indian culture courses that they are beginning to have a positive influence on the preservation of Indian languages, arts, crafts, religious ceremonies, and other facets of the culture. Because it is so important to the survival of the tribal culture and considering that these schools are the major proponent of this preservation, the accomplishment of this goal alone justifies their continued existence. The colleges alone cannot preserve the tribal culture, but with the aid of other social institutions such as the family, clans and medicine men, it may be accomplished. Perhaps the highly assimilated tribes cannot preserve much of their traditional tribal culture, but they can strengthen their present amalgamated culture through the college supporting, along with the other social institutions, what still exists.

The programs and services of the tribal colleges and their staffs and facilities are making major contributions to the tribes in areas outside their educational objectives. Prior to the establishment of these colleges, there were few (other than a few federal

jobs) employment opportunities for educated Indians on the reservations. The faculty and staff positions at the tribal colleges have encouraged educated Indians to return to their homes to work and live. In addition to their educational responsibilities, these people are contributing their skills and leadership to their tribes and are serving as role models for young persons. They function as political, social, and religious leaders of their communities. As previously mentioned, this sometimes produces role conflicts for these persons, but they are providing a great deal of valuable service to their people.

Another conclusion is that the tribally controlled colleges are higher education's best kept secret (Oppelt, 1984). No one is purposely trying to hide these institutions, but the lack of more effective public relations by the leaders of the tribal colleges has been a factor in their obscurity. Because these schools are intended primarily for local Indian clientele, it may seem unnecessary to publicize them beyond the reservation. However, there are non-Indians in attendance, and the broader their support, the better chance they will have to obtain continued federal and other sources of financing. Some local Indian residents know little about their own tribal school. Certainly local Indians and non-Indians should be better informed concerning the programs and services of the tribal college on their reservation.

The local news media share some of the responsibility for the lack of information disseminated about the tribal college in their area. As with news in general, unfavorable and sensational news is emphasized in the mass media. The prime example of this is the almost entirely negative news releases in the local press concerning D-Q University. When there is a potential disturbance at a tribal college, the media rushes in with reporters and television cameras; but when an Indian student at a tribal college wins an award it appears, if at all, in a small item on the back page. The national education press is either uninformed or does not care about the tribally controlled colleges. Higher education leaders and faculty in the west know little, if anything, about the eighteen tribally controlled colleges. Generally in higher education circles there is an almost complete lack of awareness of the existence of these institutions. Only persons in the immediate areas of the colleges know anything about these unique institutions. Because of the general obscurity of these schools and the fact that their own faculty and staff are generally not research oriented and don't have the time or resources if they were so inclined, little research or publication has dealt with the tribal colleges.

If these schools are going to prosper, they need to do a better job of publicizing their unique programs, services, activities, and accomplishments. Such activities as the pow wows at Navajo Community College and Oglala Lakota College have attracted large attendance and favorable attention from Indians and non-Indians in the area. Other such activities that bring favorable attention to the college need to be instituted.

As reported in the tribal college profiles in Chapter 2, the physical facilities and library holdings at all except two or three tribally controlled colleges are inadequate. The areas of greatest need are classrooms, library space and holdings, laboratories, and student lounges. Most of the tribal colleges have chosen to put more of their limited financial resources into faculty, staff, and student aid than in physical facilities which is a wise decision considering their decentralized organization.

A dispersed delivery system of courses, programs, and services has proved most appropriate for the large reservations with widely scattered residents, poor roads, and poor transportation. Although this format poses problems of coordination, logistics, and facilities, it meets the educational needs of the largest number of people living on these reservations. The few smaller, compact reservations such as Turtle Mountain Chippewa, Devils Lake Sioux, and Lummi with concentrated populations are best served by a centralized system in which students come to a central campus for their courses. Navajo Community College started with a centralized campus but now is following the lead of several other tribal colleges and moving to branches at other reservation towns, notable the successful branch at Shiprock, New Mexico. The Indian enrollment at Northland Pioneer Community College in this area shows the need for programs at various sites to serve the large population of Indians in this area.

In the area of accreditation the tribal colleges are making good progress toward acceptance by their regional associations. The accreditation self-studies and visitations have been beneficial to the colleges, and the accreditation process has not forced them to abandon their unique methods designed to meet the educational needs peculiar to the tribal Indian people. An independent, separate accrediting agency for tribally controlled colleges is not warranted be-

cause of the increased expenditure in money and human resources and the probability that it would never match the acceptance and prestige of the established associations. The possibility that a few of the tribal colleges may not be able to meet the minimal requirements for regional accreditation should not prevent the others from having the opportunity to be fully accepted by the higher education establishment.

From documents, secondary sources, and interviews with tribal college administrators and staff, the greatest obstacle to the tribal colleges reaching their objectives appears to be the lack of adequate funding. These schools individually and collectively must strive to maintain their current federal support from PL 95-471 and other sources but must also seek all possible state and private sources of funding including private foundations and individuals. If more tribal colleges are forced to close, it will most likely be due to lack of sufficient financial support which is related to the lack of broad political support in their area.

The two most common criticisms of tribally controlled colleges are that they promote separatism and that they have low academic standards and emphasize vocational rather than traditional academic subjects (Kickingbird, 1976). The first criticism may be a hold over from the long standing objective of assimilation as described in Chapter 1. This melting pot view has been held by most non-Indians in this country for centuries and still is the predominant view in the United States. It is hoped that the melting pot view of our country is being replaced by the acceptance of a pluralistic society, but old social values die hard. Another concern about the separatism at the tribal colleges is that it may be working to the disadvantage of the Indian students in attendance. If these schools are providing a stepping stone encouragement to further education and development, it is serving Indian students well; but if it is only prolonging the time when they must try their wings in the white dominated educational system, it may be serving little useful purpose. As pointed out elsewhere in this study, only time and further research will answer this important question.

The second criticism of low academic standards has been an issue in American higher education since the early advent of different types of colleges. The great variety of postsecondary education which is a distinguishing feature of United States higher education causes much of the debate over whose standards are the best or highest. The question of standards is often basically an issue of different institutional goals and objectives and students with differing educational backgrounds and goals. The valid question is not to compare goals of different types of schools with a variety of students but whether or not the standards at any one college are serving these students by encouraging them to do the best they can in whatever it is they want to accomplish. If they are not doing this, the standards are too low or, in some cases, too high. As at other types of institutions, the faculty at most of the tribal colleges have learned to set their standards at levels to challenge but not threaten their students. Therefore, the criticism of low standards is only valid if it is pertinent to the specific conditions and students of each tribal college. Raising standards for the purpose of institutional prestige or public image, if it does not benefit the students, is wrong and a detriment to effective higher education. The criticism that tribal colleges are too vocational and not stressing academic subjects is obviously related to the objectives of the college and the needs of the students. If the objective of an institution and the majority of its students is vocational preparation, then this should be the major emphasis. All students should be required to develop the basic survival skills of reading, writing, and basic math; but the major goal should be providing the students with saleable skills and knowledge. In the few tribal colleges where the primary objective is preparation for further higher education, vocational education should be secondary to the academic skills and knowledge needed to attain a bachelor's degree. These two objectives are not mutually exclusive and are coexistent at most tribal colleges.

As of 1982, there was little evidence that the above were valid criticisms of the tribal colleges, but they must continue to study their students and graduates to determine if separatism or the academic standards are working to the disadvantage of their students' education. If so, they should make the appropriate changes.

As of 1982, the eighteen existing tribally controlled colleges were in various stages of development and had a wide range of prospects for continuing to serve the people in their areas. During 1980-1982 the tribally controlled colleges granted 1,085 associate degrees and vocational certificates in a variety of fields. Five of these schools, including Navajo Community College, Sinte Gleska College, Oglala Lakota College, Salish Kootenai College, and

Turtle Mountain Community College, were doing well and should continue to develop and serve the postsecondary needs of Indians and non-Indians in and near their reservations. The growth of Northland Pioneer Community College and other state institutions decreased enrollments at College of Ganado influencing its closure in 1986.

A small number of tribal colleges are not prospering and are in danger of closing unless major changes are made. These include Lummi Community College, Fort Berthold Community College, Little Hoop Community College, and Little Big Horn College. These schools are adequately serving small numbers of students in their areas, but their overall strength and support makes their continued existence questionable, and they may join Ojibwa Community College and College of Ganado, the two tribal colleges that have already had to close their doors.

The remaining tribal colleges were making progress and are trying to increase their enrollments and broaden the programs offered. Most of them will continue to survive if present levels of federal financial support are maintained and tribal fortunes remain stable.

D-Q University is unique even among this group of non-traditional colleges. Its history and politically controversial situation make its future difficult to predict. (This college and its future are discussed in some detail in Chapter 2.)

The overall strength and success of each tribal college is a function of the following five interrelated factors: tribal enrollment, tribal resources, student enrollment, accreditation status, age, and financial support. The schools which are prospering are strong in all of these factors, and the schools that are struggling are lacking in all or most of them.

When judged by the standards of community colleges throughout the United States and by persons not familiar with the educational history and culture of American Indians, these schools are seen as small, poorly funded, lacking in essential facilities and services, and, in some cases, too weak to survive. However, when seen in the context of the conditions of the Indian reservation and its people, they are shown to be meeting the postsecondary needs of a group of Indian and non-Indian people who previously had little or no opportunity for this level of education. The Indian college administrators and faculty have learned to survive and in some cases prosper as a small minority with minimal material resources. Therefore, the future of these colleges is much brighter than it would appear to the outside observer. Most of the staff and students have faced deprivation and adversity all of their lives and have learned to survive. Many non-Indians would give up the attempt to keep their college going under these conditions, but the staff and students at the tribal colleges will persist. This persistence and dedication will stand them well in the current decline of federal funding and the unknown challenges that they are sure to face in the future. If they continue to meet the changing postsecondary needs of the members of their tribes and if federal funding, specifically PL 95-471 continues at an adequate level, the tribal colleges should survive and continue to make a major contribution to the higher education of western tribal American Indians (Oppelt, 1984).

The development of the tribally controlled colleges since 1968 is the first real evidence that American Indians have gained some self determination in the planning and management of their own higher education.

CHAPTER 4

Other Higher Education Opportunities for American Indians in the 1980s

In spite of the importance of the development of the tribally controlled colleges in the 1970s and 1980s, it is necessary to emphasize that the great majority of Indian students (89%), as of 1980, were still attending other types of institutions of higher education. These were public, private, and federal two-year and four-year colleges and universities controlled by non-Indians. Therefore, although this book is primarily about tribal colleges, it is necessary to place these new schools in the context of the larger and still more influential environment of non-Indian controlled higher education.

Federally Controlled Two-Year Colleges

As of 1980, there were three two-year colleges funded and controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs exclusively for American Indians and Alaska Natives. These schools are open only to persons who are one-fourth or more Indian or Alaska native blood. The students receive free tuition and board and room. These three colleges were the only fully federally funded institutions beyond the twelfth grade for Indians These colleges are Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kansas; the Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, New Mexico; and the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Haskell Indian Junior College

As indicated in Chapter 1, Haskell Institute was founded as a federal off-reservation boarding school in 1884. In the 1960s and 1970s Haskell underwent several significant changes through which it eventually became a full-fledged postsecondary institution. The phase out of the secondary program began in 1962 and was completed in 1965 with the graduation of the last high school class. During the phase out, postsecondary courses were added, and in 1966 the staff began investigating the possibility of providing for the postsecondary needs of American Indians through the establishment of an accredited junior college (*Haskell Junior College Bulletin*, 1977-79, p. 1). Haskell gained junior college status in 1970 and, in the same year, changed its name to Haskell Indian Junior College. It became the first Bureau of Indian Affairs degree granting institution and was accredited as a two-year college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1979.

After the change to junior college status, enrollment continued to be limited to persons of at least one-fourth Indian blood. The wisdom of maintaining a segregated student body has often been questioned, but in the mid-1970s a survey of Haskell faculty and students showed the majority supported this policy (Martin, 1974). It has been recommended that Haskell admit non-Indians on a tuition paying basis to programs that are not filled by Indians. It

was purported that this would make the Haskell student body a more representative cross section of society, improve enrollment in needed areas, and raise the level of achievement of all students through added competition (Stiner, 1972).

After Haskell became a junior college, the proportion of general or transfer students to vocational students increased significantly. In 1977, two programs—liberal arts and business—had a combined enrollment of 610 students, nearly 60% of the total student body. Several of the vocational programs became so small in enrollment they had to be discontinued. These changes in the curriculum brought in new faculty, some of whom differed in philosophy with the vocational teachers (Martin, 1974). This dissension brought about a lowered morale among some faculty. By 1978, enrollments in the vocational and technical programs had stabilized and the morale of the faculty had improved.

Haskell was one of the first colleges where a student could feel proud to be an Indian. This was important because young tribal Indians often have a low self-concept and their experiences at traditional federal Indian schools tended to magnify this perception (Saslow & Harrover, 1968).

Many Indian leaders of the past and present attended Haskell for some of their education. A significant influence of attendance at Haskell, as at Hampton Institute and Carlisle in earlier years, was the development of Pan-Indian leaders. Contact with Indians of many tribes developed a realization of their common problems and the potential that intertribal cooperation had for the betterment of Indians nationally. This resulted in the founding of such Pan-Indian organizations as the Society of American Indians, the Teepee Order, and the Native American Church. These and other Pan-Indian reform, fraternal, and religious groups had cores of leaders who had attended Haskell Institute (Hertzberg, 1971).

The history of Haskell can be seen as a microcosm of the history of American Indian education during the federal and later periods. The school has evolved from an off-reservation boarding school for elementary children to a secondary school and then to a junior college. Perhaps, in the future, it will move to four-year college status to reflect the recent changes in educational ambitions and attainments of contemporary Indians.

The student body at Haskell is atypical of two-year colleges in several aspects. The students vary less in age and ethnic background, but they differ more in geographic origin. There are students enrolled from all 50 states. Although all are at least one-fourth Indian blood, they come from many diverse tribes, cultural backgrounds, and socioeconomic levels (Stiner, 1972). Many tribes are represented in the Haskell student body. Tribes with more than fifty students in attendance in 1974-1977 were Apache, Cherokee, Creek, Navajo, and Sioux. The total enrollment in 1974 was 1,300 students, giving it by far the largest Indian enrollment of any postsecondary school in the country. The enrollment in the fall of 1978 was 866, consisting of 432 men and 454 women (*Haskell Enrollment Status Report*, 1978). In the fall of 1984, the Haskell enrollment continued to drop to 774 students (*Fact File*, 23 July 1986). These decreases from previous years were probably due to the development of tribally controlled community colleges and other increased educational opportunities for Indians. The students at Haskell live in residence halls rather than off-campus as do most two-year college students.

In 1978 nearly all of the administrative staff and 55% of the instructional staff at Haskell were American Indians (*Haskell Self-Study*, 1978). The Haskell Board of Regents had twelve members, one from each of the BIA administrative areas plus a legal representative (O'Brien, 1975).

Placement studies of Haskell graduates from 1974 to 1977 show that 40% of the graduates were employed after graduation, 37% were continuing their education, 10% were unemployed (including housewives), and 10% failed to provide information. The most frequently listed field of employment was business with 26% in that field (*Haskell Self-Study*, 1978). Over 50% of the Haskell liberal arts graduates in 1976 planned to return to their reservation or work among their people (Burgess, 1976).

The academic ability of Haskell students, as measured by the ACT test battery in 1978, was significantly below the national average of all college students and also below the average of Indian students attending other institutions of higher education. The average Composite ACT score of 10 placed Haskell students in the first percentile of the national norms (*Haskell Self-Study*, 1978). Although cultural differences make the ACT less valid for Indians, this indicates that Haskell students did have lower measured academic achievement than their contemporaries at other institutions. These data show the need for remedial courses at Haskell which are similar to the previously reported needs

of Indian students at the tribally controlled colleges. Remedial programs need to be evaluated to determine if they are effective in raising the scores of Haskell Indian students on the several parts of the ACT.

A 1982 survey of tribal college administrators showed they were generally supportive of Haskell Indian Junior College. They believed that Haskell served a different population and had different purposes than their institutions. Although Haskell's enrollment had decreased, it was now drawing students mainly from tribes and areas which had no tribal college, and the students who were attending tribal colleges would not be able or willing to attend a residential college far from their home (*Tribal College Interviews*, 1982).

Thus, it is evident that in spite of its changes and shortcomings, Haskell Indian Junior College continues to meet the needs of a significant number of young American Indians from throughout the United States and provides some continuity to the efforts to encourage Pan-Indian cooperation in a number of areas.

Institute of American Indian Art

The second federal controlled and funded two-year college for Indians, the Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA), was founded in 1962 at the Santa Fe Indian School. The mission of IAIA is as follows:

> The main mission of the institute is to provide culturally sensitive education and extension through the arts to American Indian students. It is a broad-based cultural institute which offers educational experiences designed to bridge the gap between the rich cultural past of the American Indian and his/her potential position in contemporary life. (*IAIA Self Study*, 1977, p. 1)

The 250 to 300 students enrolled at IAIA in 1977 ranged in age from the mid-teens to the 50s and represented eighty American Indian tribes. Of the total enrollment, 219 were at the junior college level (*IAIA Catalog*, 1977-78).

Courses offered at IAIA included creative writing, fine arts, applied arts, painting and sculpture, jewelry, ceramics, weaving, photography, dance, textile design, museum training, and a liberal arts curriculum. Students completing the requirements of the New Mexico State Department of Education for a two-year program received an Associate of Fine Arts (AFA) degree. IAIA became a candidate for accreditation with the North Central Association in 1978 and, as of 1982, continued to hold this status.

An examination by the IAIA staff in 1977 of the shortcomings of the existing BIA off-reservation boarding schools pointed out the serious deficiencies of these schools and provided direction for new programs and procedures. The Division of Student Life, led by Dr. Martha Iwaski, developed an innovative program that strove toward integration of the mind, body, and spirit of the student. A wide variety of activities which were integrative in nature and made extensive use of peer counselors were two main features of the Student Life Program (*IAIA Visions*, Book V, n.d.). Although the Institute had inadequate physical facilities, its innovative, dedicated teachers and staff made its future bright, providing it could obtain sufficient funding from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The changes at IAIA in the late 1970s included the phasing out of the secondary school program. The last high school class graduated in June 1979. A long-range goal at this time was the eventual accreditation of the Institute as a four-year college. As of the late 1970s, a variety of changes were under consideration at IAIA. The All-Pueblo Indian Council had requested that the administration of IAIA be placed under its jurisdiction, but the BIA rejected this and countered with the suggestion that the Institute move to Haskell Indian Junior College. As expected, this latter proposal met with much opposition from the Indians in the vicinity of Santa Fe (*Wassaja*, 1979).

In 1982, the postsecondary programs of the Institute of American Indian Art were moved to the campus of the College of Santa Fe, a four-year Catholic college administered by the Christian Brothers Order. The Santa Fe Indian School on Cerrillos Road continued with the K-12 programs for Indian students including some bused from Albuquerque.

For most of its existence IAIA has been controversial. Some of its critics do not believe that federal funds should be expended to train artists or other "non-essential" occupations. Those who do not accept the validity of its mission believe the school is too expensive. Others, particularly some members of local Pueblo tribes, believe it should be administered by the All-Pueblo Indian Council. Still another view is that IAIA should be open to non-Indians. These differing views have caused nearly continual turmoil among students and faculty, but the fact remains that the college has contributed to the education of a number of outstanding Indian artists and

has provided teaching opportunities for some of American's most successful Native American painters, sculptors, potters, and other artists.

In 1988, the controversy over the administration of IAIA resulted in the U.S. Congress severing IAIAs close ties with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The school was given private status with a board of trustees that reports to Congress. This provides the opportunity for IAIA to expand to four-year status as it continues to provide the Indian people a good education in various fields of art.

Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute

Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI), the third BIA controlled and funded college, was founded in 1971 in Albuquerque. This school has been even more controversial than its sister institution in Santa Fe. The main criticism since its establishment has been that SIPI's programs are not economically meeting the needs of Indians of the Southwest. It is held that other vocational schools in Albuquerque could accommodate the Indian students at a much lower cost.

Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute is a postsecondary residential school designed to train Indians in technological or vocational skills (Peterson, 1972). It provides programs for both high school graduates and dropouts. Programs offered are: General Educational Development (GED) for non high school graduates and postsecondary curricula in business, clerical, drafting, electronics, telecommunications, engineering aides, off-set lithography, commercial food preparation, and optical technology. Most graduates of these programs were placed in appropriate jobs or continued their postsecondary education. As at Haskell and IAIA, students must be at least one-fourth Indian or Alaska Native blood to attend SIPI. The school is governed by a board of ten Indians from various tribal areas in New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona (Peterson, 1972).

In its first few years, enrollments at SIPI were strong. The average daily attendance in 1972-1973 was 550 with 80 students graduating that year. The median age of the students was 21 years, and they represented a total of 78 tribes. As at Haskell and IAIA, all students had their board, room, and tuition provided by the BIA. As of 1972, nearly all of the staff at SIPI were Indians (Vineyard, 1972).

William Vineyard, an administrator at SIPI, wrote in 1972 that the institution was uniquely flexible. He emphasized that the total educational setting at SIPI was individualized. Students could enter the school any day of the year, and there was no specific length of time required in any program because students worked at their own pace. Students worked closely with their advisors who were always available during office hours to plan an individual program. SIPI was open to all Indians regardless of educational level and no formal grades were given, only the student's progress was noted. The philosophy in the early years was: "Treat students as resourceful, intelligent, mature adults, and they will act accordingly" (Vineyard, 1972, pp. 89-90).

In the early years the largest single certificate program was the GED. In 1976-1977 the GED students accounted for 143 (57%) of a total of 251 certificants (*SIPI*, 1979). The fall enrollments from 1975 to 1978 decreased slightly from 463 to 404 students. The tribes with the largest percentages of students at SIPI were: Navajo, 25.7%, Pueblo, 13.6%; Apache, 8.6%; and Sioux, 6.4%. The remaining 25% belonged to 48 other tribes and groups. As of 1979, 60% of the instructional staff and 80% of the administrators at SIPI were Indians. In 1978, Donald McCabe, former president of Navajo Community College, became president of SIPI.

The goals of SIPI students were almost exclusively vocational. Few were interested in continuing their postsecondary education beyond vocational skills. The institute did offer an opportunity to earn an Associate of Arts degree through a consortium arrangement with the University of Albuquerque. Most SIPI students complete a certificate course then go to work. If they return it is for the purpose of upgrading their vocational skills. SIPI was fully accredited as a two-year college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools in 1975 (*SIPI*, 1979).

As of the early 1980s the viability of SIPI continued to be a topic of public discussion. Its decreasing enrollments and relatively expensive programs made it a good target for the budget cutters. The rumors that the college was going to close contributed to the loss of enrollment. In 1983, the enrollment at SIPI grew dramatically to 572 full-time students. These students were enrolled in 48 certificate programs. A reason given for the growth was the greater degree of program stability brought about by a change from the open entry system to a standard semester and a move from the individualized format

to more traditional classroom instruction (*Wassaja*, January/February, 1983). Apparently, the original unstructured, flexible system of the early years was not attracting and holding the students of the 1980s. It remained to be seen whether this enrollment increase would be maintained and whether this would convince federal officials that SIPI could continue in operation.

As of 1982, Haskell, IAIA, and SIPI were the only federally funded and controlled postsecondary institutions for American Indians. In 1977 the BIA appropriated a total of $4,500,000 for these three institutions. The total enrollment for these three schools in 1982-1983 was 1,628 students. Haskell, the largest, oldest, and most stable, in spite of competition for students from the new tribal postsecondary schools, continued to prepare a large number of young Indians for vocations and transfer to four-year programs. Its broad geographical and tribal constituency provided strong support for its programs and the development of Pan-Indianism among its alumni.

The Institute of American Indian Art and the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute being younger, smaller, and more specialized schools have more uncertain futures. IAIA is sharply focused in the fields of art and is dependent upon the support of a small, specialized constituency, mainly in the Western United States. Federal cuts in spending for Indian education or a drop in the national popularity of Indian art might spell the doom of IAIA.

If the lack of support for Indian postsecondary education for Indians by the Department of Interior continues, both IAIA and SIPI will have difficulty surviving. Indian leaders who want to retain these schools will need to fight for their appropriations and enlist the assistance of Congressional leaders who will fight the battle in the House and Senate.

University Programs for the Preparation of Indian Professionals

In addition to the three federally funded postsecondary colleges, the federal government during the 1970s and 1980s funded programs at several universities to prepare Indians for professions that are needed on reservations and in Indian communities. The professions included are graduate programs in educational administration, law, and health.

In 1970 the University of Minnesota, Pennsylvania State University, and Harvard University established graduate programs to prepare administrators for Indian schools and Indian education programs. During the period 1970 to 1975, 159 persons participated in the American Indian Administrator Training Programs at these three institutions. Of these, 88 persons completed the requirements for a master's degree and 8 others completed a doctoral degree, a completion rate of 60%. Salaries of these persons increased significantly after completion of their degrees (*Indian Education Resources Center Bulletin*, 1975). Overall, the Administrator Training Programs were rated good to excellent by the students, faculty, and administrators involved. Concerns were expressed over the participants who had not completed their degree objectives, and annual funding caused concern about the continuance of the program each year.

Unfortunately, in the 1960s and 1970s the proportion of Indian teachers in most Indian elementary and secondary schools was very low which, coupled with the high turnover of non-Indian teachers, contributed to the poor education received by children in these schools. For example, in 1973 less than 200 of the 2,800 teachers on the Navajo Reservation were Navajos. In order to try to remedy this the Navajo Teacher Education Development program was established. The goal of this five year program was to increase by four times the number of Navajo teachers. Contacts were made with two universities in the Southwest to increase the admission and completion of Navajos in teacher education.

Another program to improve Navajo education, known as the Navajo Administrators Training Program (NATP), began in 1975 with 20 participants. Of this group, 18 had received master's degrees by 1978 and most were certified by state education departments or the BIA as school administrators. This program was funded jointly by the Carnegie Corporation, the Navajo Tribe, and the University of New Mexico (UNM). Its primary purpose was to enable Navajos to move into administrative positions in schools serving Navajos. The program required two years of study during which three nonconsecutive weeks were spent in intensive study at the campus of UNM in Albuquerque. On weekends the participants attended seminars, did reading, and research work. A field coordinator in Window Rock, Arizona, met regularly with each trainee providing continuity during the period of absence from the campus. The Carnegie Corporation renewed its sup-

port of NATP in 1977. As of the end of 1978, it was anticipated that 40 to 45 more Navajos would be trained for high school administrative positions in the near future (Training for Leadership, 1978).

The Pueblo tribes of New Mexico were also concerned about the lack of Indian teachers for their children. The All Indian Pueblo Council contracted with the University of New Mexico in the early 1970s to provide Associate of Arts degree programs for Pueblo Indian persons. This program proved to be successful for the preparation of teachers' aides among the Pueblo people. One hundred and fifty persons from various pueblos were taking these courses from UNM in 1973.

In the area of Indian health, the University of North Dakota established a federally funded program for Indians interested in medical studies. This program, called Indians Into Medicine Programs (INMED), was started in 1973. It is designed to produce well educated health professionals to help meet the health needs of the Indian people. The program serves 22 Indian reservations in the Northern Plains and other Indians and Alaska Natives throughout the United States. The objectives of INMED are to make Indian students more aware of, interested in, and motivated toward health careers. Another objective is to enroll Indians in appropriate curriculum and provide academic, personal, cultural, and other support services to promote academic achievement. The health programs of the University of North Dakota (UND) Medical School and INMED's full year college course usually qualify students for Indian Health Care Improvement Scholarships. Students not receiving the highly competitive Indian Health Service Scholarships may obtain funding from BIA, Pell, or tribal scholarships. During the summers, INMED sponsored Summer Institute Academic Enrichment programs for junior high, senior high, and college students. In 13 years, 567 young Indians have enrolled in the Summer Institute (*INMED Fact Sheet*, 1986).

Since 1973, INMED has assisted 67 Indian health professionals to obtain their training including 47 physicians, 5 nurses, 1 dentist, and 14 others in various health fields. This program has also aided other Indian students who changed their career goals from health to other degree programs. A total of 230 students have enrolled in the INMED preprofessional program since 1973. INMED staff provide intensive academic, personal, and financial counseling for their students that has contributed to a high rate of retention. The retention rates for INMED students has been 80% for the preprofessional students and 85% for those in the professional health programs (*INMED Fact Sheet*, 1986).

In addition to the support of higher education programs of Indian students, the INMED staff carry out extensive communications by letter, telephone, and personal visits with Indian peoples in the Northern Plains to inform and encourage them to consider and prepare for careers in the health professions. They have produced a variety of written materials, a puppet show on health careers, a book entitled *Medicine Women*, and a video entitled *Red Medicine Road*, combining Indian medical philosophy with motivational techniques. Fourteen workshops on various diseases and health problems have been offered by the INMED staff. Three Canadian universities have studied the INMED program and used it as a model in their efforts in medical education for Canadian Indians (*INMED Fact Sheet*, 1986).

In 1985 the INMED program graduated 10 Indian health professionals including 8 physicians and 2 nurses, the highest total for any one year. As of 1986, INMED was providing financial, academic, and personal support for 23 pre-professional and 26 professional students. These data show the INMED program at the University of North Dakota is making significant progress in preparing Indian health professionals to meet the health needs of the Indian people in the Northern Great Plains region.

The University of California-Berkeley has master's degrees for American Indians in public health and social welfare. These two programs are open to persons enrolled in a federally recognized Indian tribe or who have acceptable identification as an American Indian or Alaska Native. These two programs are designed to encourage Indians to enter these two fields in which professionals are badly needed on reservations and in Indian communities.

The Master of Public Health (MPH) for American Indians and Alaska Natives was established in 1971 with 10 students entering the first class. As of late 1986, 188 Indian students had been admitted to the MPH program at UC—Berkeley. Of these, 159 had graduated including 5 Doctor of Medicine and 1 Doctor of Public Health recipients. Twenty-three students had withdrawn and six would earn a MPH degree pending completion of degree requirements (*MPH Program, Employment of Graduates*, 1971-86).

From 1972 through 1985, 149 Indian students graduated from the MPH program at Berkeley. Of these, slightly over fifty percent (75) were employed in health service to American Indians. Most of these

were employed by the Indian Health Service and the remainder by tribes and other agencies serving Indians. Twenty-three alumni were employed in general health services where they may have contact with significant numbers of Indian clients. Eight graduates were working with Indians in professional service other than health including law, housing, education, tribal tourism, and economic development. As of 1986, the occupations of 20 graduates were unknown; 5 were deceased; and 1 was retired (*MPH Program, Employment of Graduates*, 1971-86).

The Indian alumni of this program represented approximately sixty different tribes throughout the United States. The tribes with more than three persons among the MPH recipients were: Navajo–21, Sioux–11, Chippewa–9, Creek–7, Cherokee–7, Lumbee–5, and Nez Perce and Blackfeet with 4 each.

From 1972 to 1979, Berkeley awarded traineeships directly to Indian students from program funds. Of the 188 Indian enrollees in the MPH program 38 students were advocated for, or financially supported, at other schools of public health. In addition to UC-Berkeley, the schools attended were universities of Minnesota, Texas, Washington, North Carolina, Michigan, Oklahoma, and Loma Linda University, Harvard University, and Tulane University (*MPH Program, Employment of Graduates*, 1971-86).

The objective of providing trained public health workers to better serve American Indians and Alaska Natives throughout the United States is being achieved to a considerable degree by the Master of Public Health program at UC-Berkeley. From 1971 to 1986 this program was ably and energetically directed by Elaine Walbroek, MPH.

There are eleven specialities in the MPH program and two special courses in Indian health care and mental health perspectives focus on the unique needs of Indians. In fiscal year 1977, the BIA appropriated $133,000 for support of the MPH program.

The School of Social Welfare at Berkeley offers a Master of Social Welfare (MSW) degree with some emphasis on the special needs of Indian populations. This 21 month program provides courses in human behavior and social environment, social welfare policies and services, social work practice methods, and social welfare practice research. Field work in social welfare agencies is also required.

The MSW program for American Indians was begun in 1981 under the direction of Elaine Walbroek. The first graduates received their degrees in 1983. From 1983 to 1985 11 Indian students graduated with MSW degrees from Berkeley. As of 1986 all of these persons were employed in social work positions dealing primarily with American Indians. The Indian participants were each from different tribes, and only three of those admitted had withdrawn, one of whom graduated from law school at Berkeley.

It is obvious that this young program for American Indians is beginning to decrease the great need for qualified Indian social workers and allied professionals among western tribal Indians (*MSW Program, Employment of Graduates*, 1981-86).

One of the professional fields with the fewest Indians is medicine. The American Association of Indian Physicians (AAIP) had only 25 members in 1974. At that time, the AAIP reported 82 Indians enrolled in medical schools, 13 in dental schools, 7 in veterinary medicine, and 22 in pharmacology for a total of 124 Indians preparing in these health professions (*AAIP*, 1974). Estimates in 1979 indicated there were 125 Indian physicians, 6 dentists, and 2 veterinarians. If these estimates are accurate, some progress is being made in the number of American Indians in the medical field (Bacone College, 1979).

For a number of years Indian leaders have discussed the idea of an American Indian medical school. Dr. Taylor McKenzie, a Navajo, made a proposal in 1977 for the establishment of such an institution. This proposal was approved by the Navajo Tribal Council in February 1977. Dr. McKenzie proposed that Indian medical students would take their basic science courses at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, then do their clinical work in Indian Health Service hospitals and other medical facilities serving Indians. It was planned that American Indian Medical School would open in 1980 with 32 students. Several similar proposals have been made but none has been implemented. An examination of the 1977 proposal concluded that only three urban areas have both sufficient Indian population and adequate medical facilities to make such a program feasible. The areas are Minneapolis, Minnesota; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Phoenix, Arizona (Goldberg, 1977).

Two major reasons have been presented for the need for an Indian medical school. First, very few Indians can qualify for the highly selective medical schools in the United States; and, therefore, there are few Indian physicians. Secondly, medical educa-

tion in the existing schools does not adequately prepare physicians to treat tribal Indian patients, many of whom still believe that illnesses are caused by witchcraft or other supernatural causes. An Indian medical school would provide an opportunity for more Indians to study medicine and would combine the study of modern medicine with knowledge of the curing ceremonies and natural medicines of the traditional Indian beliefs. This concept is similar to the view of holistic medicine. The major barrier to the idea of an Indian medical school is the great cost involved to establish and maintain such an institution. As of the mid-1980s there was no available source of stable funding to make this type of institution feasible.

To help meet the need for more Indian lawyers, the American Indian Law Center (AILC) was established in 1967 at the University of New Mexico to provide research and training services in law and policy for Indian tribes and their members. Its purpose is the advancement of the interests of Indian people through greater knowledge of the law and improvement of tribal government. In 1974 there were 85 students enrolled in this program, and 35 graduated in the 1975 academic year. By 1976, 122 Indians were attending 41 law schools, and 47 were scheduled to complete their degrees that year. The AILC budget for 1976 was $700,000 (*IERC Bulletin*, 1976). A total of 370 American Indians and Alaska Natives have graduated from law school with assistance from the Special Scholarship Program in Law for Native Americans. The pre-law program has also benefited many tribal judges, tribal court advocates, and paralegal personnel. The BIA appropriated $1,250,000 in fiscal year 1977 for support of the Indian law programs at the University of New Mexico. By 1979, 150 American Indians and Alaska Natives were receiving assistance each year from the Special Scholarship Program in Law for American Indians.

In 1976 the American Indian Law Center became an Indian-controlled non-profit corporation separate from the University of New Mexico Law School. It is funded by government contracts, foundation grants, and contracts with Indian tribes and organizations. Since its founding, AILC has carried out a number of projects that have been of value to Indian tribes and individual Indians. As the need for legal assistance in the field of energy resources and other areas concerning Indians increases, the service of AILC will become even more important. The first director of the center was Frederick M. Hart who initiated many of the unique services and programs offered. Philip S. Deloria became the director in 1979 (Deloria, 1979).

The professional preparation programs described above are the major federally funded efforts in education, health, and law to meet the need for Indian professionals in these fields. Self determination of American Indian tribes is dependent upon the continuance of these programs and the establishment of others. Without the professional expertise and leadership of their own people, Indian self determination cannot succeed.

Indians in State Institutions of Higher Education: 1980s

Of all types of higher education in the 1980s, the largest proportion of American Indians were enrolled in state supported colleges and universities. Small numbers of Indians were enrolled in a large number of state schools with the largest concentrations in the western states. The fourteen public institutions with the largest enrollments of Indians and/or Alaska Natives in the fall of 1982 are listed in Table 5.

As can be seen, four of these schools with large Indian enrollments are two-year colleges located near large Indian populations. The others are four-year schools in the western U.S. with long histories of providing higher education for Indians in their area. The increased proportion of Indians attending two-year colleges is represented by the large enrollments at Northland Pioneer College near the large populations of Navajos and Apaches and Santa Rosa Junior College in California with its large scattered Indian population.

The recent history of several state schools that have been active in Indian higher education for many years merits attention in this chapter. The early history of Pembroke State University, the only state school founded specifically for Indian higher education, is presented in Chapter 1. In the 1960s and 1970s Pembroke State University (PSU) experienced some major changes. One of these occurred in 1969 when the college became part of the University of North Carolina System as a regional university. In the early 1970s Pembroke established an American Indian Studies Program consisting of a special concentration in American Indian studies

Table 5
Public Institutions of Higher Education with More Than 500 Indian Students, Fall 1982

College or University	Total Enrollment	Indian Enrollment	Percent of Indians
*Northland Pioneer College Arizona	6,377	1,371	21.5
*Santa Rosa Junior College California	20,138	1,188	5.9
Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Tahlequah	6,512	964	14.8
University of New Mexico Albuquerque	24,056	770	3.2
California State University San Jose	26,274	736	2.8
*Orange Coast College California	26,729	722	2.7
California State University Fullerton	24,385	707	2.9
University of New Mexico Gallup	1,250	619	49.5
Northern Arizona University Flagstaff	11,975	599	5.0
*Central Arizona College Coolidge	5,606	566	10.1
California State University Longbeach	36,397	546	1.5
California State University San Diego	33,937	543	1.6
University of Oklahoma Norman	21,802	523	2.4
Pembroke State University North Carolina	2,191	519	23.7

Note. From National Center for Educational Statistics Report, 1984
*Two-year college.

and a plan to expand this to a major concentration. This course of study focused on "American Indians, their cultures and contributions, their history and their aspirations" (*American Indian Studies*, PSU, 1977, n.p.).

There were a total of 479 Indians enrolled at Pembroke in the fall of 1978, including 383 full-time and 96 part-time students. As of the fall of 1982, 519 Indians were enrolled at Pembroke, and nearby Robeson Technical College enrolled 383 Indians. This concentration of Indian students is by far the largest in the Eastern United States. As in past years, most of the students at Pembroke are Lumbees from the vicinity of Robeson County, North Carolina. The Lumbees are not a federally recognized tribe and, therefore, have no reservation or tribal BIA benefits. In 1980 the Lumbees in this area of North Carolina comprised the largest concentration of Indians east of the Mississippi.

Although Pembroke was founded for the education of the local Indians, the curriculum, except for the recent Indian Studies Program, has been a traditional white planned and administered program. This school is based on the objective of assimilation of Indians into the white society and little is done to promote cultural reinforcement or aid Indians in their personal cultural conflicts (Ackley, 1972). Several outstanding Indian graduates of Pembroke include history professor Adolph Dial, Attorney Dexter Brooks, and two physicians, Dr. Martin Brooks and Dr. James Warriax.

The growth of tribally controlled colleges has had little effect on the Indian enrollments at Pembroke or its programs because there are no tribally controlled colleges in the Eastern United States and most of the Indians at Pembroke are Lumbees or members of other local tribes (Pembroke, 1979).

Another state college with a long history of large Indian enrollments is Fort Lewis College in the southwestern Colorado town of Durango. Fort Lewis was founded in 1927, sharing facilities with the pre-existing Indian elementary and high school. It started in 1878 as a BIA off-reservation Indian boarding school and in 1911 became a Colorado state school of agriculture, mechanical, and household arts. The 1911 executive order signed by Colorado Governor John F. Shafroth stated that "Indian pupils shall at all times be admitted to said school free of charge for tuition, and on terms of equity with white students" (Kinsey, 1975, p. 20).

In 1933 Fort Lewis became a two-year college and in 1962 changed again to offer four-year programs. For many years a few Indians attended Fort Lewis, but in the 1960s the Indian enrollment grew rapidly. By 1970 there were 224 American Indians enrolled at the college which was 10.8% of the total enrollment. With more than 1 in 10 students not paying tuition, a financial problem was created at the college.

To try to remedy this, the Colorado legislature passed a bill in 1971 that limited tuition waivers at Fort Lewis to those Indians who were Colorado residents. Indian students at Fort Lewis with support from several national Indian organizations objected to this loss of rights. They took their case to the District Court and then to the Court of Appeals where the original 1911 executive order was upheld. Dur-

ing the litigation in 1971-1972, the BIA paid the tuition for the out-of-state Indians attending Fort Lewis. Since 1972, Fort Lewis College has granted tuition waivers for all Indian students admitted to the school. For a few years Indian enrollments at the college declined, but by 1974 the enrollment of Indians was back to 251. Indian enrollments at Fort Lewis again dropped slightly in the latter 1970s, but as of 1982 there were still 212 Indians enrolled (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). The number of Indian graduates averaged 16 per year from 1975 to 1978. In the latter year there were 36 tribes represented by the students at Fort Lewis with the largest number from the nearby Navajo. Fort Lewis College had Indian counselors and an active Indian Club in the late 1970s. The Intercultural Program helped provide for the special needs of Indian students increasing the achievement and retention of these students. The Intercultural Program included a number of special activities, some of which were music and dance presentations, fashion shows, family events, rug auctions, and social events (Kinsey, 1975).

In 1972 Fort Lewis Indian students perceived the emphasis on Indian culture to be the major strength of the college program. Other strengths, as seen by students, were assistance given to new students in adjustment to the college and unity among the Indian students. Two perceived weaknesses were the lack of participation by some Indian students and the low concern for and participation with Indian students exhibited by some faculty (Clark, 1972).

As is the case at most institutions with large Indian enrollments, no organized follow-up study of Indian graduates has been done at Fort Lewis. Several noted Indian alumni of the school are: Arlene Millich, Ute Tribal official; Richard Mike, Director of Teacher Education for the Navajo Tribe; and Nelson Angapak, corporate executive in Alaska (*Fort Lewis College*, 1979).

Fort Lewis College is one of the few state schools to have had a significant Indian enrollment prior to the national increase in recruitment of Indians and the development of new Indian programs in the 1960s. In spite of the tuition problems that caused a temporary loss of confidence among Indians, the college has continued to serve the many Indians of the Four Corners area. Whereas other state schools have dropped or reduced Indian programs and services as federal funding has declined, it appears that Fort Lewis College has the stability, commitment, and local support to find means of continuing its Intercultural Program in the recession of the early 1980s. Southwest Indian leaders have expressed support for the efforts of Fort Lewis in Indian education. Its size and location make it well suited to meet the needs of transfer students from Navajo Community College and Northland Pioneer College who want to complete a bachelor's degree.

Northeastern Oklahoma State University at Tahlequah is a four-year state institution with a long history of large Indian enrollments. As noted in Chapter 1, it was formed from the Cherokee Female Seminary in 1909. This university has maintained its Indian enrollments through the declines of the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1982 it had 964 Indian students, the largest Indian enrollment of any four-year institution in the United States (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). Northeastern Oklahoma draws Indian students primarily from the Five Civilized Tribes and other tribes brought into Indian Territory as a result of the Removal Act of 1830. Most members of these tribes are highly assimilated into the dominant culture and have a long history of promoting advanced education among their people. Many leaders of the Oklahoma tribes have received some of their higher education at Northeastern Oklahoma.

Northland Pioneer College in Holbrook, Arizona, was founded in 1974 with 2,010 students enrolled during its first term. This two-year postsecondary institution had the largest enrollment of American Indians of any United States college in 1982. Its headcount enrollment of 1,371 Indians was primarily the result of its location near the Navajo, Apache, and Hopi Reservations. Its centers, particularly the one at Oraibi on the Hopi Reservation, provide accessible programs to the many Indians living in this area. In the fall of 1981, there were a total of 6,377 students enrolled at Northland Pioneer College. In addition to the centers at Holbrook and Oraibi, other sites in the 225 mile length of Navajo Country were located at Winslow, Show Low, and Snowflake. Programs were taken to the students by renting facilities in the above communities and the maximum use of mobile units. The short history of this college shows there was still a need for postsecondary education in this area in spite of the development of Navajo Community College to the north.

The University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, and its branch at Gallup have large enrollments of Indians. As of 1982, Albuquerque had an enrollment of 700 Indians and Gallup enrolled 619. As with

Northland Pioneer College, the proximity to the large Indian populations on the Navajo and Ute Reservations account for this large Indian enrollment. In spite of the presence of other colleges in the area, these schools attract a large number of local Indians to their courses.

A 1976 study of the education of American Indians in public two-year colleges included a sample of public schools in the west but excluded tribally controlled colleges. It was recommended that Indians be allowed more self determination in higher education particularly at the two-year college level, that cooperation with Indian leaders be fostered by two-year colleges to determine Indian needs, and that two-year colleges strive to improve their public image so more Indians will want to attend (Pace, 1976). It appears that some of these recommendations are being implemented particularly in the Southwestern United States. The data indicate that the major growth in Indian enrollments is in the two-year colleges. In fact in the fall of 1982 over one-half of all Indian college students were enrolled in two-year schools (Astin, 1982). Not only have the tribal colleges been developed in recent years, but new public schools such as Northland Pioneer College have been established and Indian enrollments at established two-year colleges such as Santa Rosa Community College in California and Central Arizona College have grown. As national college enrollments decline, it is probable that more institutions will look to new markets such as American Indians as a source of additional students. The two-year community college is well suited to meet the educational needs of Indians residing on isolated reservations and Indian towns. Where tribal colleges are not present, public and, to a lesser degree, private two-year colleges are being established to meet the needs. State universities are also starting branches in localities more convenient to Indians in sparsely settled areas.

An example of cooperation between public community colleges and Indian tribes began in 1972 in Oregon. Two public community colleges and two Indian tribes formed the Oregon Native American Consortium. The two schools were Central Oregon Community College at Bend and Blue Mountain Community College. The Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and the Umatilla Confederated Tribes were the two tribal groups involved. This cooperative agreement was initiated by Dr. Frederick Boyle, president of Central Oregon Community College, who believed that the colleges were not meeting the needs of Indians on the local reservations (Harrison, 1977).

Independent Institutions Founded During the 1970s for the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives

During the decade of the 1970s, in addition to the tribally controlled colleges examined in Chapter 2, several independent institutions were founded with the objective of serving primarily American Indians or Alaska Natives. These colleges are: Flaming Rainbow University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma; Inupiat University of the Arctic, Barrow, Alaska;* and the Tanana Chiefs Conference Land Claims College, Fairbanks, Alaska.

A unique institution of higher learning with a large proportion of Indian students was founded in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in 1971. Dr. David Hilligoss, the first president, founded Flaming Rainbow as an educational counseling and referral agency. There were no formal classes offered, and the clients were mainly older students who were dissatisfied with the available traditional higher education. This institution soon became a four-year independent college known as Flaming Rainbow University. From 1972 to 1974, Flaming Rainbow was a member of the Union of Experimenting Colleges through the University Without Walls program of Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri (*Flaming Rainbow*, 1977). After 1974, Flaming Rainbow was an independent member of the Union.

Flaming Rainbow University was established on a flexible, individualized learning concept. Students learned primarily through experience, independent study, travel, and internships. In later years there was some change to incorporate more formal classes into the students' programs. In its early years the school went through some difficult times. Henry Chitty, a Cherokee, became director of Flaming Rainbow in 1973; and it was primarily his leadership and inspiration that kept it going during the difficult early years. Chitty died in 1977, but his spirit lived on in the hearts of the staff and students who worked with and learned from him. Upon Chitty's death, Dan Goehring, Dean of Academic Services, became president of Flaming Rainbow. In addition to Goehring, the small group of staff mem-

*Inupiat University of the Arctic closed in 1981.

bers who kept the school operating in the early years included Jean Fishinghawk and Regina Blackfox. Apparently the interest in education evidenced by members of the Oklahoma tribes in the mid-nineteenth century was still alive.

Flaming Rainbow's mission as of 1978 was:

> To provide undergraduate education for all the non-traditional student population of Eastern Oklahoma. The majority of the clientele consists of adult American Indians, particularly Cherokee, who have been limited educationally, economically and socially because they did not grow up in a culture that conventional education organizations are designed to serve. (*Status Study, 1978*, Abstract, p. 1)

The students at Flaming Rainbow were non-traditional students who were not well served by any existing institution in the vicinity including Northeastern Oklahoma University at Tahlequah. The students at Flaming Rainbow University (FRU) were mainly older employed women who were married, had families, and differed from traditional college students in other aspects. The modal FRU student was described in 1978 as a 32 year old American Indian woman who was head of a household, had 2.7 dependents, and earned an average monthly income of $327. It is obvious that a very flexible, innovative program was required to permit such students to pursue a four-year degree. FRU's dedicated staff made every effort to accomplish this.

In 1978, 269 (86%) of the 313 students enrolled at FRU were American Indians. In the same year the school granted 22 bachelor's degrees, 7 of which were awarded to Indians (*Flaming Rainbow, NCA Report*, 1978). The enrollment grew for a few years, but by the fall of 1982 it had decreased to 211 students of whom 165 (79%) were Indians. As of 1984, 66.5% (174) of the 221 students were American Indians. These decreases were primarily a result of the continued financial problems of the school.

FRU is incorporated under the laws of the state of Oklahoma as a non-profit educational institution. Members of the corporation include all faculty and staff, students who have completed at least two years, and all persons who have contributed not less than $10 to the corporation. The Board of Trustees consists of eight members. The university president is assisted by four committees: Learning Services Committee, Administrative Council, Academic Council, and Academic Review Committee. Although there was no formal arrangement for student involvement in university governance, the small size of the school and the good rapport between faculty and students provided opportunities for students to have input in most decisions (*Flaming Rainbow, NCA Report*, 1978).

The financial status of FRU has been precarious since its inception. It is not an overstatement to say the school operated on a shoestring. After several years of deficits, FRU finally was in the black in 1978 showing a balance of $43,933. Working capital was nearly non-existent at FRU. The school operated almost entirely on tuition revenue, largely provided by federal and state aid programs. In the 1978 report of the North Central Association visiting team, the following were stated as financial concerns:

> Lack of planning data, need for improvement in development effort, lack of working capital and funding base to provide program flexibility and emergency funds, meager and minimal facilities, and a need to improve the financial report for significant volumes of student financial funds. (p. 10)

The school was operating in two locations in 1978: Tahlequah and Stillwell, Oklahoma. These two eastern Oklahoma towns are about 25 miles apart. The two centers were deemed necessary because the local students needed to have learning services close to their homes. The buildings used by FRU were leased at both of these locations and were generally inadequate for instructional purposes.

The faculty was small in number but adequately trained, hard working, and had high morale. In 1979-80, 52% of the administrative and learning services employees at FRU were American Indians. The administration desired to increase the proportion of Indians on the staff (Kolhoff, 1979).

The flexible curriculum at FRU was divided into six broad functional divisions. These were: Learning to Learn I, Exploratory Courses, Interdisciplinary Courses, Learning to Learn II, Area of Concentration, and Senior Studies. it was not clear precisely how these divisions contributed to the general educational goals of the institution (*Flaming Rainbow, NCA Report*, 1978).

Nearly all of the students enrolled at FRU received some type of financial aid. The major proportion of student aid came from the federal government with smaller amounts from the state of Oklahoma and the institution. The total financial aid to students in 1978 came from the following sources: 46%, Basic Educational Opportunity Grants

(BEOG); 36.6%, Bureau of Indian Affairs; 10.5%, Tuition Aid Grants from the Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education; 2.8%, Work Study Program; and 1.5%, institutional scholarships. The average annual amount of student aid was $3,700.

The North Central Association visitation team pointed out the following strengths at Flaming Rainbow in December 1978: high morale and commitment of the faculty and staff; well qualified staff with good student relations; a population of non-traditional students served by no other institution in the area; increasing enrollment and strong support from area Native Americans; competitive faculty salaries; bilingual faculty; increasing library resources; and openness to outside evaluation in order to increase its effectiveness (*Flaming Rainbow, NCA Report*, 1978).

The North Central visiting team also listed eleven concerns most of which are mentioned above. The team recommended that FRU be granted candidate for accreditation status. Candidate status was awarded to Flaming Rainbow in 1979, and, as of 1984, it still held this level of accreditation.

FRU is unique in that it is an independent, four-year institution working to meet the educational needs of a population primarily composed of American Indians. It is not tribally controlled or even associated with any particular tribe or tribes. Its objectives are more traditional than the tribal colleges in that it does not include cultural reinforcement or transmission in its goals. It is going it alone with little assistance from other organizations. This was proving to be a difficult task in the recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

During the 1970s, two schools were founded in Alaska for the education of Eskimos and Alaska Natives. These schools have some similarities to the tribal colleges but are independent schools not chartered by a particular Indian tribe. These two far north institutions are the Inupiat University of the Arctic, Barrow, and the Tanana Chiefs Conference Land Claims College, Fairbanks. Little has been written about these schools.

The farthest north university in the world, Inupiat University of the Arctic was founded in Barrow, Alaska, in 1975. This four-year institution was established by the Inupiat Eskimo leaders to meet the post-high school needs of Inupiats and other residents of Alaska's North Slope. In addition to the headquarters at Barrow, learning centers were opened in the North Slope communities of Anaktuvuk Pass, Wainwright, Point Hope, Kaktovik, Atmosook, Nuiqsut, and Point Ray. Because it was 540 air miles from the nearest institution of higher learning, Inupiat University provided the only accessible postsecondary education for residents of the North Slope of Alaska (*Inupiat University*, n.d.).

Inupiat University had open admission for general attendance but required a high school diploma for admission to a degree program. The undergraduate degree programs were Arctic studies, business, economic development, education, Inupiat studies, management and political science, and science. The non-degree programs included vocational and technical skills, arts and crafts, and para-professional levels of the degree programs listed above. There was a long range emphasis on a certificate program to prepare Inupiat teachers and teacher's aides for North Slope Borough schools.

The philosophy of education of Inupiat University of the Arctic as stated in the university brochure was:

> Central to the program of Inupiat University is the premise of the value of the life and traditions of the Inupiat Eskimos of the Arctic Slope. Inupiat University, therefore, offers a variety of courses in various aspects of Inupiat language and culture, taught by carefully selected experts from the community of the Arctic Slope. (Inupiat University brochure, n.d.)

In 1971 the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation was founded, as mandated by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. One of the primary concerns of the corporation was providing postsecondary education for residents of the Arctic Slope. Thus, the All Eskimo Inupiat Council for Postsecondary Education was formed including representation from the villages of the North Slope and of the major local entities. The university was established as an independent institution.

The Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges had recognized Inupiat University as a candidate for accreditation which meant that the Northwest Association recommended that credits be accepted by other schools on the same basis as from a fully accredited institution. In addition to the regular academic courses, Inupiat provided its students with support services such as academic information, counseling, and tutoring to promote individual success in academic studies. Plans were being made in 1978 for development of an Inupiat Center for Information, Language, and Culture (ICICL). This center would conduct research relating to instruction and advancement of the Inupiat People, especially

in the preservation, study, and development of circumpolar-linkages and cooperation (Inupiat University brochure, n.d.). Mr. Lyle Wright was the first director of this center.

As can be seen, Inupiat University had many similarities to the tribally controlled colleges, but the administration of the school did not consider it an "Indian college" (letter from R. Dixon, 1979).

In 1976 there were a total of 54 Eskimos and Alaskan Natives enrolled at Inupiat University. Testing programs for students included GED, CLEP, and other standard instruments. The faculty and all administrators, including the president, served as advisors to students and prospective students. The major sources of financial aid to students were BIA, BEOG, and Alaska Scholarship Programp (Locke, 1978).

Inupiat University of the Arctic was the first example of the Eskimos or Native Alaska people expressing their self determination in postsecondary education by establishment of an institution of higher learning to meet the educational needs and cultural preservation of their people.

Inupiat University of the Arctic closed in 1981 when an election in Barrow deposed the supportive North Slope administration. The new mayor instituted withdrawal of financial support for the institution. Among the factors motivating this change were questions concerning the accuracy of enrollment figures and other bookkeeping irregularities.

In 1986, an agreement was signed between the North Slope Regional Corporation and the University of Alaska-Fairbanks to form the North Slope Higher Education Center [NSHEC]. The Center became a branch campus of University of Alaska-Fairbanks and faculty members have affiliate status at the University. Students receive University of Alaska-Fairbanks credit for courses taken at Barrow and the NSHEC sites. As of 1987, all of the students at NSHEC were attending part-time. The total headcount enrollment was 450, of these 65% (292) were Eskimos or Alaskan Natives. The governing Board was composed entirely of native people representing the citizens of the North Slope Borough. Gary Smith was appointed director in 1988. The North Slope Borough funds the Center with some in-kind support from the University of Alaska-Fairbanks. The Center applied, in 1988, for membership in the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. This farthest north institution may become the next member of this group (Shepro, 1988).

The Tanana Chiefs Conference Land Claims College was founded in 1973, by the Tanana Chiefs Conference, to serve the postsecondary educational needs of the Alaska Natives in the interior region of Alaska. This area includes the valleys of the Yukon, Kuskokim, and Tanana Rivers, an area of 250,000 square miles. The headquarters of the Land Claims College was in Fairbanks with subregional centers in the towns of Yukon, Tok, Galena, and Holmberg.

Land Claims College was a non-traditional college with the primary objective of providing postsecondary educational opportunities for Alaska Natives and others living in the Tanana Chiefs region. The college was governed by the Land Claims College Advisory Board composed of eight Alaska Natives. The board is advisory to the Board of Directors of the Tanana Chiefs Conference. In 1978 Melvin Charlie was president of the Board of Directors and Michael Jarvis was Director of Land Claims College (Locke, 1978).

There were five specialized and one general program available to students at Land Claims College. The five specialized programs were business administration, health, native humanities, education, and law. These programs could be taken for an associate degree or as non-degree programs. The general area known as "personal interest" was available for village residents with a wide variety of interests. Academic credit at Land Claims College was offered through agreements with the University of Alaska, Alaska Methodist University, Sheldon Jackson College, and Antioch College in Ohio (Locke, 1978).

In 1977 Land Claims College had a head count enrollment of approximately 200 Alaska Natives. Qualified students received financial aid grants from the BIA, Tanana Chiefs Conference, and/or Doyan Ltd. and other private foundations (Locke, 1978). Although Land Claims College was similar in some aspects to the tribally controlled community colleges, as of 1980, it had not requested funding from the Tribally Controlled Community Assistance Act of 1978.

The founding of Inupiat University of the Arctic and the Tanana Chiefs Conference Land Claims College both resulted from the lucrative financial agreement of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. This act provided financial resources to the Alaska Natives and Eskimos which enabled them to found these institutions under the authority of the local Eskimo and Alaska Native organizations. As in the lower 48 states, this was the beginning of self determination in postsecondary education for the native peoples of Alaska. The increases in native en-

rollments at the University of Alaska, Alaska Pacific, and the community colleges in the 1970s were also influenced by the increased financial resources available to the Alaska Natives and Eskimos.

As with American Indians, very few Alaska Natives entered college prior to the 1960s. A study of Alaska Natives attending the three major state higher education institutions—Alaska Methodist University, Sheldon Jackson, and the University of Alaska—showed a four-fold increase in the number of Alaska Natives entering these schools between 1963 and 1974. During this period the number of native students completing a college degree also increased significantly. However, an average of only 21 natives per year received bachelor's degrees in the years 1969 to 1972. The proportion of Alaska Natives completing degrees was still well below the proportion of non-Natives (Kohout & Kleinfeld, 1974). The authors of the study concluded:

> While progress has been made in increasing Natives' college entrance and success rates, their rate of success is still substantially below that of white students and is not yet high enough to meet current social and economic needs for educated Natives. (Kohout & Kleinfeld, 1974, p. x)

As of 1978, there was a relatively large proportion of the total number of Alaska Natives and Eskimo college students attending the University of Alaska (Astin, 1982). In the fall of 1984 the University of Alaska at Fairbanks had an enrollment of 570 Alaska Natives and Eskimos which was 10.3% of its total enrollment. This was an exceptionally large proportion for the major higher education institution of a state. At Alaska Pacific University 8.6% or 59 of the students were Natives or Eskimos. Four of the nine Alaskan community colleges also had large proportions of Native students (Fact File, 23 July 1986). Overall, the state of Alaska has made better progress in providing for the postsecondary education of its native peoples than have the lower 48 states.

Independent Institutions That Continue to Enroll Large Numbers of American Indian Students

As shown in Table 6, only Brigham Young University (BYU), among the independent college and universities, has an Indian enrollment that compared to the public colleges with the largest Indian enrollments as of 1982. Located in Provo, Utah, BYU is a private university operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon Church. It has a long history of encouraging higher education among western Indians. This laudable effort has been somewhat countered by the attendant attempts to proselyte Indian students for the Mormon Church. Good educational opportunities are offered Indians at BYU, but efforts to convert them to Mormonism work against establishing a pride in Indian culture and religious heritage (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972). This is a continuance of the former missionary view that Indians could best have their souls saved by being educated in colleges that encouraged assimilation and conversion. A few other church-related institutions have continued efforts to enroll and convert Indians, but

Table 6

Independent Institutions of Higher Education with the Largest Enrollments of American Indians, Fall 1982

College or University	Total Enrollment	Indian Enrollment	Percent of Indians
Brigham Young University Provo, Utah	29,695	327	1.1
Flaming Rainbow University Tahlequah, Oklahoma	211	167	79.2
Mt. Senario College Ladysmith, Wisconsin	516	147	28.5
*Bacone College Muskogee, Oklahoma	327	140	42.8
University of Albuquerque Albuquerque, New Mexico	1,808	127	7.0
Sheldon Jackson College Sitka, Alaska	221	100	45.0
Harvard-Radcliff Colleges Boston, Massachusetts	15,859	79	.5
College of Santa Fe Santa Fe, New Mexico	979	78	8.0
*Mater Dei College Ogdensburg, New York	427	70	16.4
Alaska Pacific University Anchorage, Alaska	782	70	9.0
Heritage College Washington	292	53	18.2
Dartmouth College Hanover, New Hampshire	4,504	45	1.0

Note. From National Center for Educational Statistics Report, 1984.
*Two-year college

BYU has been the most zealous and successful in attracting Indian students.

The Indian enrollment at BYU in the fall of 1978 was 479 full-time and 78 part-time students. The total of 557 Indian students was, at that time, one of the largest at any United States institution of higher education. The Indian students at BYU in 1978 represented 77 different tribal groups. By fall of 1982, the Indian enrollment at BYU had decreased to 327. This decline in enrollment of Indians is probably related to increased postsecondary opportunities for Indians in the mountains and west and to increased emphasis in preserving tribal cultures and religion that cause more Indians to reject religious views which hold their tribal beliefs are inferior or wrong.

BYU has put much effort into providing a good program for Indians. As of the late 1970s they had an Indian studies program and five Indian counselors. The university staff reported that the attrition of Indian students was lower than that of the student body as a whole which is much better than most four-year institutions. Although BYU had no special federally funded programs for Indians, the great majority of the Indians enrolled were receiving some form of federal financial aid. Among the noted Indian alumni of BYU are Martin Seneca, former Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Larry Echohawk, the chief legal counsel for the land claim case of the Maine Indian tribes (BYU, 1979).

The independent institution with the longest commitment to providing for the postsecondary needs of American Indians is Bacone College founded in 1880 in Muskogee, Oklahoma. The early history of Bacone is included in Chapter 1. In 1973, the total enrollment at Bacone was 770 students of whom 218 were American Indians, all of whom had some form of financial aid. The total enrollment decreased to 603 in 1975 but the number of Indian students increased to 347. The Indian enrollment declined in 1977-78 to 289 representing 34 single tribes and 44 students of mixed Indian heritage. The five single tribes with the largest representation were: Cherokee, 59; Navajo, 55; Choctaw, 22; Creek, 20; and Apache, 10 (*Ethnic Analysis of Indian Students at Bacone College*, 1977-78). The decline in enrollment continued in the early 1980s, and by 1982 the total enrollment was only 327 of whom 140 were Indians (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984).

Bacone College is governed by a 30 member board of trustees, 16 members are from the American Baptist Church constituency and 14 are from Oklahoma and other non-Baptist churches. Indian leaders from throughout the United States sit on the board and share in its policy making decisions.

The Bacone Board of Trustees adopted the following statement of objectives in 1977:

> Bacone College is an independent church related college unique for its Native American Indian heritage and traditions. The environment is dedicated to meeting the diverse needs of the Native American Indian in a diverse multicultural setting. Guided by Christian principles the college is committed to offering quality educational programs through a personalized approach designed to enrich career and personal development. (*Bacone College Bulletin*, 1978-80, p. 83)

Bacone is accredited as a liberal arts junior college by the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools and the National League of Nursing. It is also chartered under the laws of the state of Oklahoma and is empowered to grant the Associate of Arts degree and to provide selected service courses for elective or terminal courses (*Bacone College Bulletin*, 1978-80, p. 83).

In the late 1970s consideration was being given by the Bacone administration to the possibility of the school becoming a four-year institution in order to attract more students. It was believed one reason for the decrease in Indian students was the increase in the number of tribally controlled colleges (Chavers, 1979). However, it appears that Bacone serves primarily a different population than that served by the tribal colleges. The percentage of Indians in the Bacone enrollment is still close to fifty percent, but the overall enrollment loss has been the significant change. The major cause of the significant decline in overall enrollment since the mid-1970s is similar to that at other small private colleges in the United States in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The decreased number of 18 year olds has reduced the pool of eligible entrants to colleges. Secondly, the economic recession and inflation have forced private colleges to raise tuition and other student costs until they have priced themselves out of business. Competition with state supported schools with much lower tuition has left the small private school in a precarious position. A number of these schools have had to close and nearly all are running in the red. It is unlikely that changing Bacone to a four-year school would alleviate these problems.

In celebration of the 200th anniversary of founding of Dartmouth College, President John Kemeny renewed the emphasis Eleazar Wheelock had placed on Indian education in 1769. Kemeny proclaimed

that Dartmouth would seek to enroll fifteen new Indian students annually for four years. John P. Olguin, a Pueblo Indian, was appointed director of the new Indian program; and he proceeded to recruit qualified Indian students. He succeeded in enrolling fifteen Indian freshmen for the fall of 1974. These added to the eight returning Indian students gave Dartmouth the largest Indian enrollment in its two century history. At this time, it was estimated that in its 200 years 117 Indians had attended Dartmouth but only 19 had graduated. An Indian Cultural Center was established at the college to support the new program and students. It was intended that the center would serve to reinforce Indian culture and aid in meeting the social and psychological needs of Indian students at Dartmouth (Kershner, 1970).

Michael Dorris, a Modoc Indian, was Chairman of Native American Studies at Darmouth from 1976 to 1981, and as of 1978, there were five full-time staff members. A body known as the Native American Council composed of eight Indians and three non-Indians coordinated the activities of three groups concerned with American Indians at Dartmouth. In 1976-77 there were a total of 45 Indians enrolled at Dartmouth. Three of these were graduate students and the remaining 42 undergraduates. In spite of the many years of inactivity in Indian higher education, in 1979 the Dartmouth program was referred to as "the exemplary project of the 1970s for the higher education of the Native Americans" (Churchill & Hill, 1979, p. 49). This may prove to be accurate but only the test of time will prove its validity. Other schools have had brief periods of concern for Indian education but the commitment declined after a few years.

For a number of years Indian groups have objected to the use of the Indian as a mascot or symbol for the Dartmouth athletic teams. Some Indians believe that the use of this symbol and the antics of the person portraying it at athletic events are degrading to the Indian people. Stanford University changed their mascot from an Indian to a cardinal as a result of similar protests. If Dartmouth is sincerely concerned about the education and feelings American Indians, it should also make this change.

Although not as great as President Kemeny had hoped, significant gains were made in increasing Indian enrollments at Dartmough during the period from 1970 to 1976. Only two Indian students chose to leave Dartmouth during 1974-76, and retention of Indians remained high in 1976-1978. This improved retention was attributed to increased stability of the Indian programs, a more realistic admission policy for Indians, and an increased number of Indian upperclassmen.

The Indian enrollment at Dartmouth in the fall of 1982 was 45 students, the same as five years earlier (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). In spite of the plateauing of Darmouth Indian enrollments as of the early 1980s, Dartmouth was making a sincere effort to recruit American Indian students and, more importantly, provide them with programs and services to increase their chances of attaining a college degree. After two centuries, Eleazar Wheelock's hopes for educating American Indians were reborn at the school he founded for their education.

As reported in Chapter 1, Sheldon Jackson Institute was founded at Sitka, Alaska, in 1878 for the education of Alaska Natives and Eskimos. The junior college program at Sheldon Jackson was organized in 1944 when its name was changed to Sheldon Jackson Junior College. Prior to 1945 all students at Sheldon Jackson were Native Alaskans or Eskimos, but in that year several white students enrolled. By 1959 one-third of the enrollment was non-Native. The junior college program was accredited by the Northwest Association in 1966 (Armstrong, 1967). The college offered Associate of Arts degrees in the fields of business administration, data processing and computer science, education, fisheries, logging management, secretarial science, and liberal arts. In 1981, Sheldon Jackson College became a four-year institution with the granting of its first bachelors degree.

Sheldon Jackson reported that in the academic year 1971-72 there were 76 Native students out of a total enrollment of 131 (63%). Two years later the student body was 50% Native Alaskan, and during the next six years the proportion of Natives remained close to this percentage. During the years 1963 to 1979, the total student body ranged from 150 to 220 students (Goff, 1979). The enrollment at Sheldon Jackson in 1975 was 177 full-time and 68 part-time students. The college did not have exact data on the numbers of minorities enrolled in these years. Therefore, these figures are estimates made by the registrar, Richard M. Goff, in 1979. The United States Office of Civil Rights reported 56.2% or 167 of the 297 full-time and part-time students at Sheldon Jackson in the fall of 1978 were Alaska Natives or Eskimos (Fact-file, 1981). These figures indicate that the proportion of Natives and Eskimos enrolled at Sheldon Jackson Junior College in the late 1970s ranged from 50% to 60%.

In 1979 Sheldon Jackson had a learning center funded by Title III which, though not exclusively for Natives, was utilized largely by these students. Title III funds also supported a cross-cultural counselor at the college. A major event at Sheldon Jackson was Native Emphasis Week, and a few Native Studies courses were offered in the late 1970s (Goff, 1979).

In the early 1980s the enrollment and proportion of Native and Eskimo students dropped at Sheldon Jackson. The total enrollment in the fall of 1982 was down to 222 including 100 (45%) Native Alaskans and Eskimos (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1984). The enrollment decrease and the rising costs of postsecondary education caused serious financial problems for Sheldon Jackson. In 1980 the trustees voted to seek a merger with the University of Alaska in order to relieve the financial deficit. This merger was not accepted by the university. At the same time the trustees gave consideration to selling part of its 345 acre campus to reduce debts (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, 7 July 1980).

As of 1987, Sheldon Jackson College was still operating as a fully accredited four-year college. The total enrollment that year was 187 including 80 (43%) Alaska Natives or Eskimos. Nearly one-half of the graduates during 1987 were Alaska Natives or Eskimos showing an excellent graduation rate for Native persons (Stenberg, 1988).

The four independent institutions of higher education whose Indian programs and enrollments are discussed in this section indicate the problems common to private higher education in the 1980s. Many private schools were having a difficult time holding their costs down and their enrollments up. Small, less prestigious institutions, such as Bacone and Sheldon Jackson, were fighting to survive. Larger more prestigious schools with larger endowments and a broader base of support such as BYU and Dartmouth were able to hold their own, but their high student costs were making it very difficult for American Indians and other minorities to afford these schools. The increase in postsecondary opportunities at the less expensive state, federal, and tribal colleges has cut into their potential Indian enrollments. These private institutions will continue to serve decreasing numbers of Indians in spite of their efforts to recruit them. Some of the smaller private schools will close, merge with larger state institutions, or continue to struggle on in hopes societal changes will save them. Overall, independent higher education is becoming less involved in the education of American Indians as the tribes move toward self determination.

Indian Studies Programs in Institutions of Higher Education

Another development in higher education during the 1960s and 1970s was the establishment of programs variously known as American Indian studies, Native American studies, ethnic studies, or minority studies. These programs are most common in the larger state colleges and universities. They were the result of increased interest among Indians and non-Indians in the culture and history of the American Indian and pressure from civil rights groups and Indian organizations to provide more complete and accurate information concerning Indian history and contemporary culture. In nearly all institutions of higher education, these areas of study had been woefully neglected and most Americans had a very inaccurate and biased conception of Indians.

Robert Berkhofer wrote in 1978 that the white man had defined the Indian as either a "noble redman" or a "bloody savage" (Berkhofer, 1978). The Indian studies programs were an attempt to correct these misconceptions and to develop an appreciation for the valuable contributions the Indian has made to modern American society.

In 1971 the Bureau of Indian Affairs reported 48 Indian studies programs in the United States (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972). Because many of the Indian studies programs were supported partially by "soft" federal funds, they lacked stability and were short-lived. It was alleged that some colleges and universities established Indian studies programs and recruited Indian students to obtain federal funds and meet civil rights regulations rather than from a real commitment to Indian education and welfare (Locke, 1973). In a 1972-1973 survey, 170 of 262 colleges contacted replied, and 66 (or 38%) of these had American Indian studies programs. These programs were mainly in eastern institutions and enrolled a total of 10,021 undergraduate and 950 graduate students (Locke, 1973).

A researcher in 1973 concluded that institutions with a Native American studies program had a lower attrition rate for Indian students (11.2%) than schools without such a program (26.8%). Although it cannot be concluded from this study that the Native American studies programs caused the lower at-

trition, it is probable that it was a contributing factor. It was also determined that the peak year for establishment of these programs was 1971. The conclusions were that Native American studies programs emerged as a missing component of our educational system, but their continuance depends on whether or not they are substantive enough to persist in the curriculum. They have had the important effect of convincing some non-Indians that Indians have not only a past but also a present and a future (Leitka, 1973).

Indian studies in 1978 were characterized by an emphasis on teaching and service activities rather than scholarly activities characteristic of other academic disciplines. One researcher held that Indian studies was at that time a quasi-discipline; and, therefore, its continuance as an academic discipline was problematic. After examining a number of objections to Indian studies as an academic discipline, it was concluded that whether or not it emerged as an independent discipline depended upon political, economic, and/or moral conditions externally imposed rather than upon any inherent shortcomings (Thorton, 1978). It may be that some Indian studies programs will continue as student personnel services for Indians rather than as academic departments or programs.

Not all observers are convinced that Indian studies programs are serving a worthy purpose and meeting their stated objectives. Churchill and Hill (1979) were very critical of all minority studies programs. They stated:

> As a mechanism to confuse social issues and priorities they have been amazingly effective. As educational development, however, they are largely transparent devotion to posture and gloss at the expense of scholarly content. (p. 45)

They see the major programmatic flaws as isolationism, the diversity of Indian cultures, and understaffing.

One Indian studies center that has had a positive impact on the higher education of Indians and non-Indians in the Northern Great Plains is the Center of Indian Studies at Black Hills State College, Spearfish, South Dakota. Established in 1969, the Center has an all Indian staff ably led in 1978 by Lowell Amiotte. The staff has worked effectively to provide leadership in developing and instituting Indian courses and programs that include intrinsic Indian traditions and customs. Reservation Indians were being employed as consultants for the development of course materials (*Center of Indian Studies, Black Hills State College*, n.d.). In the 1970s the Center certified instructors for Sinte Gleska and Oglala Sioux Community Colleges in South Dakota. Occasionally problems arose because some instructors were not certifiable and conversely some of the certified personnel were not acceptable to the local Indian communities. As the tribal community colleges became more stable and independent this issue decreased in frequency.

Since 1978 the staff of the center has published a monthly newsletter to inform Indian people in the Northern Plains about the services provided at Black Hills State College through the center and other news of Indian education. This newsletter became a valuable means of communication for persons involved in Indian higher education.

Although there has been criticism of the center by some Indian leaders, it has done a good job of balancing the demands of activist Indians with the conservatism of the white higher education establishment to the benefit of many Indians. The center could be criticized for not doing more scholarly research, but its major role is in the areas of teaching and service rather than research.

Data are not available for a national evaluation of Indian studies programs in the 1980s. These programs reached their height in numbers in the mid-1970s, and have decreased since that time. However, at schools with dedicated personnel and sufficient resources, Indian studies have established themselves as a permanent part of the institution whether as an academic discipline or, more commonly, as a teaching and service unit to serve Indians and non-Indians. Further investigation and analysis of this important facet of American Indian higher education is beyond the scope of this book.

Indian Higher Education Enrollments

Considering the many recent studies of American college students and, in particular, minorities, it would seem to be easy to determine how many Indians are enrolled in institutions of higher education and the changes in Indian enrollments in recent years. This is not the case as evidenced by the great variance in reported numbers of Indians in higher education. For example, reported enrollments of Indians in the 1970 academic year varied

from 10,000 (Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972) to 29,269 (DHEW, 1973).

The lack of agreement and, therefore, questionable accuracy, of all Indian higher education enrollment figures is primarily due to the question of who should be counted as an Indian. The problem of what criteria to use in determining who is an Indian has been with us for at least one hundred years. There are more than ten criteria that have been used to define "Indian" or "Native American." These range from the strictest interpretation that only documented full-blooded Indians should be counted, to some recent studies that include as Indians all persons who self-identify themselves as such. The latter criteria is very unreliable because, geographical, historical, and economic factors influence whether or not a person self-identifies as an Indian. There have been historic periods and areas of the country in which it has definitely been disadvantageous to be considered an Indian, but in recent years it has been economically advantageous and socially chic to be part Indian. Non-Indians who claim to be part Indian are sometimes jokingly referred to as members of the Wantabe Indian Tribe.

Astin et al. (1982) note in an extensive report on minorities in American higher education:

> The most serious problem in definition occurs with American Indians. Self definitions (with no qualifications beyond "American Indian") are extremely unreliable, and unfortunately produce systematic rather than random errors. Thus, nearly every source of data pertaining to American Indians greatly exaggerates the representation of this group at all educational levels. (pp. 23-24)

Astin et al. (1982) state reports from institutions of higher education usually inflate the numbers of Indians in attendance. This is usually unintentional but may have been influenced by the pressure from the federal government during the 1960s and early 1970s to enroll larger numbers of minorities. Whatever the reason for these inaccuracies, it is still impossible to accurately determine past and present American Indian enrollments in higher education and, therefore, measure the apparent increases. Astin et al. suggest that in order to make the designation "American Indian" less ambiguous in data gathering, persons should be asked to specify their tribe or band. This would help some but would not entirely solve the problem of who should be counted as an Indian. The term "Native American" should be avoided in determining the ethnicity of college students because it is often misinterpreted to mean anyone who was born in the United States. Table 7 presents total Indian enrollments of full-time students for 1968 to 1980 as reported by the United States Office of Civil Rights. For reasons stated above, these data are probably inflated presenting an overly optimistic picture of Indian enrollments during these years.

Table7

Enrollments of American Indians in United States Higher Education, 1968-1980[a]

Year	Indian Enrollment	Total United States Enrollment
1968	29,000	4,820,000
1970	27,000	4,966,000
1972	32,000	5,531,000
1974	37,000	5,639,000
1976	38,000	5,755,000
1978	36,000	5,664,000
1980	39,000	5,993,000

Note. From Biennial Racial and Ethnic Enrollment Data from Institutions of Higher Education, 1968-80.

[a]Full-time undergraduates in two-year and four-year institutions who were enrolled for at least 75% of a normal course load.

A second factor causing inaccuracies in reported Indian enrollments is the lack of consistency in defining the terms "higher education" or "post-secondary education." This could be corrected by researchers being careful to always specifically define these terms in all enrollment reports and statistics.

Another source of error is mixing data on full-time or full-time equivalent Indian students as presented in Table 7 with numbers or head count data. Colleges with many part-time students are particularly vulnerable to this error because the head count of Indians is much higher than the number of full-time equivalent students. Erroneous conclusions are drawn if researchers are not careful to compare only data that are explicitly defined and appropriate to the question under study. Because this is usually not done, invalid conclusions are often drawn concerning enrollments of American Indians in higher education.

In spite of the obvious inaccuracies of most data on the enrollments of Indians in higher education, recent figures can be used to indicate relative changes in enrollments, numbers of graduates, and

Table 8

Degrees Conferred on American Indians and Alaska Natives, 1975-76[a] and 1978-79[b]

Degrees	1975-76 Public Colleges Female	Male	Total	1975-76 Private Colleges Female	Male	Total	1975-76 Total Female	Male	Total	1978-79 Total
Bachelors	1,329	1,641	2,970	253	275	528	1,582	1,916	3,498	3,404
Masters	272	338	610	91	94	185	363	432	795	999
Doctors	14	65	79	2	12	14	16	77	93	104
First Professional[c]	13	80	93	16	96	112	29	176	205	216
Total			3,752			839	1,990	2,601	4,591	4,723

[a]Source: U.S. Office of Civil Rights

[b]Source: Digest of Educational Statistics, 1982.

[c]First professional degrees include degrees in the fields of dentistry, medicine, osteopathy, optometry, podiatry, pharmacy, veterinary medicine, chiropractic, law, and theology.

enrollments at specific institutions. The most reliable data indicate that enrollments of Indians in higher education increased significantly in the 1960s and early 1970s but have changed very little in the last decade (Astin, 1982). Possible reasons for this plateauing of Indian enrollments are discussed in Chapter 5.

The United States Office of Civil Rights reported that 2,970 American Indians and Alaska Natives received bachelor's degrees from public colleges in 1975-1976. These numbers were composed of 1,641 males and 1,329 females. In the same academic year 528 American Indians and Alaska Natives were graduated from private colleges in the United States. Thus the total bachelor's degrees granted to Indians and Alaska Natives in 1975-1976 was 3,498. As can be seen in Table 8, the total bachelor's degrees granted three years later in 1978-1979 was down slightly to a total of 3,404. Master's degrees granted to Indians and Alaska Natives increased from 785 to 999, and doctorates were up slightly from 93 to 104. First professional degrees were also up slightly. The grand total of all degrees granted to American Indians and Alaska Natives was up from 4,591 to 4,723 in this three year period. This increase is almost totally attributable to the increase of 204 in master's degrees. It is evident that in spite of increases in enrollments of American Indians in the mid-1970s, no significant gain was made in the degrees conferred on Indians in this period. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the degrees received by American Indians and Alaska Natives at four-year schools had reached a plateau. It is probable that increased Indian enrollments at two-year schools would be reflected in a modest increase in two year degrees.

The National Center for Education Statistics reported that in the fall of 1980 there were 84,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives enrolled in two-year and four-year colleges and universities in the United States (Fact File, 23 July 1986). In 1982, 88,000 American Indians were reported as enrolled, and in the fall of 1984 the number had decreased to 83,000. These are headcount figures of persons who self identified themselves as Indians or Alaska Natives and, for the reasons previously stated, are greatly inflated. Such inaccurate figures lead the American public to believe that great strides have been made to increase access to higher education, but this is not true. Figures on degrees granted to Indians in the late 1970s are more accurate than enrollments, and these show no significant increase in Indians completing degrees. The numbers of Indian college graduates is still insufficient to meet the needs of reservations and Indian communities. Self determination for American Indians cannot be attained until they have the educated leadership to manage their tribal resources and programs (Peniska & Bailey, 1977).

There is a persistent myth in the United States that the American Indian is a vanishing race. This may be due to the lack of public visibility of Indians in most parts of the country. In the decade 1960 to 1970 the population of American Indians and Alaska Natives grew from 523,590 to 792,730, an increase of 34%. The 1980 census figures give a total of 1,420,000 American Indians and Alaska Natives, an increase of 72% from 1970. It is impossible to determine the true increase in the Indian population because some of this apparent increase is due to more accurate data gathering methods and the increase in

persons willing to self identify as Indians; but the American Indian rather than becoming extinct is one of the country's most rapidly growing ethnic groups (*United States Census Reports*, 1960, 1970, 1980). Thus, the magnitude of the lack of college educated Indians is increasing.

Some enrollment data for American Indians reported in the mass media has led to the belief that Indians are well represented in higher education. This is incorrect because of the biased data and characteristics of the Indian population. As pointed out previously, all data on Indians in higher education are exaggerated. Another important factor is that the total Indian population is significantly younger than the white population, and the proportion of college age Indians attending college is even lower than the proportion of the total population of these age groups. The higher proportion of Indians in the younger age groups is due to a higher birth rate and a lower life expectancy. The median age of all American Indians in 1970 was 20.4 years as compared to a median age of 28.1 for the entire United States population (*United States Census*, 1970). Another factor affecting the higher education of Indians is their high attrition rate in college. Six out of eight Indian students who enter college drop out in their freshman year (Peniska & Bailey, 1977). This obviously reduces the completion rates of Indian college students as compared to whites and most other minorities.

The gains in Indian enrollments during the early 1970s caused optimism among some observers of higher education (Chavers, 1975, p. 45; Washburn, 1975, p. 263), but their hopes were not fulfilled in the late 1970s and early 1980s. As Astin (1982) reported, Indian college enrollments have leveled off in the past decade. It was concluded that the single most important factor contributing to the underrepresentation of American Indians in higher education is the extremely high attrition rate in secondary school. An estimated forty-five percent of Indian youth left high school before graduation (Astin, 1982).

Another fact of Indian higher education is that Indians are not well represented in the most prestigious state institutions of higher education. Each state has one or more public universities which are considered the most prestigious and influential public institutions in the state. These are known as flagship universities. In nearly all western states the Indian undergraduate enrollments at these institutions as of the late 1970s showed underrepresentation as compared to the total Indian student enrollment in the state. South Dakota State University, the University of Arizona, Oklahoma State University, Montana State University, and the University of North Dakota were the five flagship universities with the highest percent of underrepresentation of American Indian students. As is evident, these schools are all located in states with relatively large Indian populations (Astin, 1982). A few flagship universities had an overrepresentation of Indian undergraduates in relation to the total Indian enrollments in their state. These schools and the percentage of their overrepresentation in 1978 were University of Alaska (2.8%), Oregon State University (.7%), University of Maine—Orono (.4%), and the University of Arkansas—Fayetteville (.3%) (Astin, 1982). Conversely, Indian students are concentrated in the two-year and less prestigious four-year institutions of higher education. In 1984 over one-half (54.7%) of all Indians in higher education were enrolled in two-year schools (Fact File, 23 July 1986). If the present attitudes of the federal administration continue, the underrepresentation of Indians in the flagship universities and larger proportions in two-year schools will continue to grow.

In summary, as of the mid 1980s, the relatively low enrollment of American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education and their high rate of attrition continued to be a critical problem for the Indian people and the others in the United States. In spite of the efforts of the tribally controlled colleges and the institutions and programs described in this chapter, Indian higher education was still a national tragedy. The federal budget cuts and the conservative attitudes of the Reagan appointees did not bode well for improved higher educational opportunities for Indians and especially the large numbers of western tribal Indians residing on reservations and in isolated rural communities. These conditions made the growth and development of the tribally controlled colleges more crucial to higher education of Indians than ever before.

Chapter 5

American Indian Higher Education in the 1980s: A Summary, Analysis and Look into the Future

Summary

The Missionary Period: 1636–1870

For more than 300 years churches, the federal government, and Indian tribes have attempted to provide what they considered adequate education for American Indians. As described in previous chapters, each of these entities has had different objectives for providing Indians education beyond basic knowledge and skills. The Christian missionaries primary goals were to Christianize and civilize the Indians they encountered. Their usual means to accomplish this was to prepare educated Indian preachers and teachers who would return to their people to convert and civilize them. As presented in previous chapters of this work, they were notably unsuccessful in their efforts. Few Indians attended the early missionary colleges, and those who did complete their educational programs were unfit for life in either the white or Indian cultures. The early church colleges founded partly or wholly for the education of Indians, notably Harvard, William and Mary, and Dartmouth, soon became predominantly white, male colleges and exist as such today. The cultures of the colonial Indians and the European colonists were so different that education in one was almost useless in the other. The classical education provided by early colonial colleges included such courses as Latin and Greek which were of no use to colonial Indians. Robert Berkhofer (1965) wrote:

> The laborers in the Lord's vineyard were doomed not to reap the harvest they hoped because of their cultural assumptions, the racial attitudes of their compatriots, and the persistence of the aboriginal culture. (pp. 159–160)

The early colonial educators, when judged in the context of their time, did make minimal contributions to the welfare of Indians. Many of their contemporaries considered the Indians less than human and supported extinction as the only way to deal with them. Bounties were paid in some colonies for the scalps of Indians. Although the missionaries were naive and misguided, they made a valiant effort to deal with the conflict of two very dissimilar cultures and should be recognized for their opposition to the barbaric attitudes and practices of their fellow colonists. The work of Eleazar Wheelock, John Eliot, Samuel Kirkland, and other less well known missionaries was the first organized effort to help Indians learn to survive in a rapidly changing culture. Their lack of success resulted from a combination of their own inappropriate goals and methods and sociological conditions beyond their control as mentioned in Chapter 1.

As a continuation of the early missionary efforts, several colleges were founded in Indian Territory for the education of local Indians in the later decades of the nineteenth century. As described in a previous chapter, one of these schools, Ottawa University, was used by local whites and Indians to defraud the Ottawas in Kansas. With one exception, all of these church colleges closed or soon became predominantly white institutions. Bacone College is the one college from this era that still exists as a school with a large proportion of Indian students. This small Baptist institution in Muskogee, Oklahoma, is over one hundred years old and is still contributing much to higher education of American Indians.

The Federal Period: 1870–1970

Soon after the Civil War, the United States government began to take responsibility for providing education for American Indians. The primary objective of federal Indian schools was, and to a degree still is, the assimilation of young Indians into the white culture. Therefore, every effort was made to force young Indians to give up their language, religious beliefs, dress, and all other Indian ways. Through the efforts of Captain Richard H. Pratt, Carlisle Indian School, an off-reservation boarding school, was founded in 1879. Pratt's view was: "To civilize the Indian, put him in civilization and keep him there." (Lindquist, 1944, p. 96.) Carlisle was an elementary and vocational secondary school. It became a model for the predominant federal Indian school for the next fifty years. Unfortunately, most of the effective characteristics of Carlisle were soon lost and, as society changed, its successors were operated as military camps with overly strict discipline which turned many young Indians against any form of white education.

A landmark national study of Indian administration, directed by Lewis Meriam in 1928, emphasized the serious deficiencies of off-reservation boarding schools and the almost total lack of Indian involvement in the planning and management of their education. In the 1960s and 1970s two national studies and writings by Indians and non-Indians pointed out the terrible conditions and cruelty at the federal boarding schools. A United States Senate subcommittee in 1969 found that many of the deplorable conditions reported by Meriam in 1928 still existed. As of the early 1980s most of the off-reservation boarding schools had been replaced by public or federal day schools, but a few of the old schools were still in operation.

Prior to World War II, the federal government policy held that education of American Indians should not extend beyond secondary school and that vocational programs were the only type suitable for Indians. In the post war years, the economic boom, GI Bill educational opportunities, civil rights legislation, and the development of Indian tribal resources combined to finally increase higher education enrollments of American Indians. The only federal postsecondary institution for Indians until the early 1960s was Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas. In the next decade two other two-year colleges were developed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These were the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe (1962) and the Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute (1971) in Albuquerque. During the 1960s the development of these schools, the increase in financial aid for Indians, and the affirmative action requirements of the federal government had a significant influence on increasing enrollments of Indians in higher education. Unfortunately the attrition rates for Indians in all levels of education, particularly higher education, remained very high resulting in insufficient numbers of Indian college graduates to meet the needs of the tribes.

Some Indian tribes have had a long and dedicated commitment to providing formal education for their people. In one of the earliest Indian treaties signed in 1794, the Oniedas obtained an academy for the education of their youth. As with most early Indian colleges, this school soon became a white institution and exists today as Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. Many federal treaties with Indian tribes had provisions for educational services; but as with other recompense Indians were to receive for their valuable land, they seldom received what they were promised. The five Civilized Tribes had developed effective school systems in the late nineteenth century, but all of these schools were closed or changed to public control when Indian Territory became part of the new state of Oklahoma in 1907.

The Tribal College Period: 1968-Present

In 1968 one of the most significant events in the history of American Indian higher education took place. This was the founding of Navajo Community College (NCC), the first tribally controlled commu-

nity college. In the decade following the establishment of NCC, fifteen similar two-year institutions were founded by Indian tribes in the western United States on, or near, Indian reservations. As of 1982, four other tribal colleges had been chartered by Indian tribes. These unique schools are providing higher education opportunities for many western Indians who otherwise would not be able to attend college.

In a summary of the tribally controlled colleges in 1979, the factors underlying the development of the Indian colleges were considered to be:

1. Non-Indian institutions of higher education, whether controlled by religious institutions, the federal government, or independent non-sectarian groups, have proved inadequate in meeting the unique educational needs of reservation Indians.
2. Emergence of the concept of self determination in recent years encouraged Indians to begin to take control of the development of their own higher education institutions.
3. The need for new skills and knowledge on reservations to develop the Indian natural and human resources has become more evident to Indian leaders (Horse, 1979, pp. 7–8).

These three factors have combined with the unique characteristics and flexibility of the community college to make their establishment and success on Indian reservations a natural consequence.

The tribally controlled colleges in 1979 enrolled slightly over five percent of the estimated total of 40,000 Indians enrolled in American colleges and universities. Although this is not a large proportion, these new institutions have great potential for promoting self determination in Indian higher education and providing the only opportunities for reservation Indians to obtain postsecondary education. As of 1982, it is too early to determine whether or not the tribal colleges will reach their full potential. At this time, they have serious financial, facility, and staff deficiencies which have to be overcome; but they remain the brightest hope for meeting the long unmet higher education needs of tribal American Indians in isolated reservation communities of the Western United States.

Three independent institutions of higher education were founded for American Indians or Alaska Natives in the early 1970s. They are D-Q University, founded in 1971 in California for the education of Native Americans and Chicanos; Inupiat University of the Arctic,* established in Point Barrow, Alaska in 1971 for the Inupiat and other residents of the North Slope; and Flaming Rainbow University, a four-year college founded in 1970 at Tahlequah, Oklahoma. In 1977, D-Q University reorganized and was chartered by the Hoopa Valley and Soboba Tribes of California. The governing board is now composed entirely of Indians and the enrollment is primarily Indian. These changes made D-Q University eligible to receive appropriations from the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978. These three schools, as of 1982, were all small and struggling to survive in a time when even well-established independent colleges were having difficult times. These schools have the potential to meet the needs of local Indian students and Alaskan Natives, but their size and lack of financial support makes their continued operation precarious. The three federally funded two-year colleges for Indians and the three independent Indian colleges and their 1982 Indian enrollments are shown in Table 9.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, primarily through the influence of federal equal rights and affirmative action offices, United States colleges and universities sought to increase their enrollments of American Indians. This also promoted services and programs designed to serve Indians at these institutions. A related development was the establishment of Indian studies programs, particularly in the western states with large Indian populations. Another innovation was the establishment of federally funded programs to prepare Indians in the fields of law, business administration, education, and medicine. All of these developments served to increase enrollments of Indians in higher education.

Throughout the history of Indian higher education there have been a few dedicated persons who have worked long and hard to provide opportunities and programs for Indians. These persons have included missionaries, army officers, educators, government officials, and Indian tribal leaders. Much of the good work of these persons has been obscured by the changing attitudes toward Indians and the vehement criticism of all formal white education which reached its height in the 1960s. For example, Captain Richard H. Pratt, founder of Carlisle Indian School, made major contributions to Indian education in the 1880s, but the failure of off-reservation

*Inupiat University of the Arctic closed in 1981. Financing from the borough was withdrawn when an election brought a new administration into power.

Table 9
Federal and Private Indian Colleges in the United States, 1982

College or University	Controlling Organization	Year Founded	1982 Indian Enrollment
Federal Institutions			
Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, KN	BIA	1970[b]	879
Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, NM	BIA	1962	177
Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute, Albuquerque, NM	BIA	1971	573[c]
Total Indian Enrollment			1,629
Private Institutions			
Bacone College Muskogee, OK	Amer. Baptist	1880	140
Sheldon Jackson College Sitka, AL	Presbyterian	1944[b]	100[a]
Flaming Rainbow University Tahlequah, OK	Independent	1970	165
Total Indian Enrollment			405

[a]Alaska Natives and Eskimos.
[b]Year these colleges became solely postsecondary institutions.
[c]1983 Indian enrollment.

boarding schools as times changed and some unfair criticism obscured his accomplishments. In recent years, through increased self determination, Indian tribal leaders have had the opportunity to assume leadership in tribal colleges and other higher education programs for Indians. The contributions of some of these leaders are noted in the profiles of the tribally controlled colleges and other institutions serving Indians.

In the 1980s, the increasing acceptance of a pluralistic society as opposed to the former "melting pot" concept has given impetus to self determination in Indian higher education. This change has influenced the development of the new Indian colleges which have the dual objectives of providing vocational and academic preparation for survival in the modern white world and the preservation and transmission of traditional native American languages, arts, and religious beliefs. The two-year tribal colleges have provided the first opportunity for Indians to begin their higher education in a setting that is accessible to their homes and more importantly supportive of their cultural heritage.

There has been much discussion of the rich natural energy resources of western Indian reservations, but the greatest resource of the Indian tribes is their young people and the development of this critical human resource must have top priority. If this is not accomplished, the material gains will prove to have little significance. Already, the tribally controlled colleges are beginning to produce the Indian leaders who are needed to lead the tribes through the difficult years ahead. The Indian wisdom of the past and a clear vision of the future are needed to provide the education that will encourage the traditional culture to survive and the Indians to prosper in an ever changing world.

An Analysis of Higher Education and the American Indian of the 1980s

A view backward over three centuries of attempts to provide higher education for American Indians is discouraging to both Indians and non-Indians who have worked to bring about some parity in educational opportunity. The short range picture of those involved in this effort since the 1960s is much more optimistic. As indicated in the previous sections, new opportunities and resources now exist for Indians, particularly those on western reservations, to begin and complete at least two years of postsecondary education. The tribal colleges, in spite of lack of public support, problems, and shortcomings, have opened a new era in Indian higher education. In spite of this progess, American Indians still lack the opportunities open to whites and students from other minorities. As Astin (1982) points out, the greatest loss in the educational pipeline for Indians is at the secondary level. Although it is necessary to continue to improve retention of Indians in secondary schools, we must work with the available Indian students until the attrition at the secondary level is reduced. It is true that we don't have enough qualified high school graduates, but there is still much to be done to provide for those who do matriculate into higher education.

The increase in Indian students attending two-year colleges, tribal and other, had resulted by 1982

in over fifty percent of all Indian college students being enrolled in these institutions. The growth in Indian enrollments at two-year colleges has both pros and cons concerning the educational development of American Indians. The obvious short range results have been to prepare increased numbers of Indians for vocational and technical job opportunities. Most Indians who have completed two-year vocational programs have been able to find employment that has benefited them, their families, and their tribes. The effects of the transfer programs at the two-year tribal colleges are less clear at this time. Preliminary data from a few tribal colleges indicate that transfers from these schools have higher persistence at four-year colleges than do those Indians who initially matriculated at the four-year schools. However, Astin's (1982) study of minorities in higher education shows the students who aspire to a four-year degree are more likely to attain this degree if they start at a four-year rather than a two-year college. Research should be done on the effects of attending a tribally controlled community college on the academic achievement and attainment of educational goals (McNamara, 1982). Until a controlled study of the effect of attendance at a two-year tribal college on completion of four-year degrees is conducted, we will not know how these new schools are influencing the long range attainment of educational goals of their students. In such a study, all independent variables known to affect retention and degree attainment must be controlled. A crucial factor is the degree aspirations of Indians who attend two- and four-year institutions. Does attendance at a two-year college encourage a significant number of these students to raise their degree aspirations to a four-year program? It may be that a year or two of experience and maturity at a tribal college increases the Indian student's chances of success at a four-year school, conversely it is possible that it only prolongs the time when he or she must adjust to and learn to compete with better prepared non-Indian students. In some areas there are now sufficient Indian students who have attended two-year tribal schools and then transferred to four-year schools to provide subjects for a study to answer this important question. Better coordination between tribal colleges and four-year schools in their geographical areas is needed to assess these schools and their alumni.

As of the mid 1980s some four-year institutions were phasing out their remedial or developmental programs, courses, and services for educationally disadvantaged students. If this trend continues, the programs for American Indians at the tribally controlled colleges will be of increasing importance to Indian students who need these remedial services to be successful in attaining their higher education goals.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the establishment of an independent accrediting agency for Indian colleges was supported by AIHEC in the mid-1970s. It now appears that such a separate agency is not needed. Most of the tribal colleges have gained or are making good progress in attaining accreditation through their regional accrediting association. The few schools that may not be successful in attaining accreditation may not have sufficient resources to provide adequate programs and services for their students. In spite of the view of some Indian leaders, the fact that an Indian tribe charters a college does not in itself establish that the school has met the minimum standards for accreditation.

It is apparent from examination of the sixteen tribal colleges studied that they share four major objectives, to provide: (a) vocational programs, (b) transfer or general programs (c) preservation and transmission of the tribal culture, and (d) service to the tribe(s). In retrospect, how well have these schools met these four objectives? As indicated above the most successful programs are those for the vocational students. The answer to how well the transfer programs are serving the students and tribes awaits a comprehensive follow-up study of former tribal college students.

Interviews with Indian administrators and faculty members at tribal colleges indicate they believe that the objective of cultural preservation and transmission is being attained to some degree. Is this fact or wishful thinking? As no objective studies of this are available, this question cannot yet be answered. Most anthropologists believe language is the glue that holds a culture together. Without it a culture soon dies out. Traditionally the extended family, and to a lesser degree the tribal elders, transmit the language and other aspects of a culture to the younger generation. Other social institutions such as the tribal college may help the family in transmitting the culture to the young Indians, but without the powerful influence of the family it is improbable that the traditional culture will survive. The language and artifacts of the culture may be taught and preserved in the college, but this is not actually the culture, only the remaining vestiges.

The retention of a minority culture within a dominant culture is a difficult task requiring great effort on the part of many of its members. In a primarily oral culture, the elders must spend much time in passing the culture on through word of mouth to the young. As indicated by the existence of subcultures in our society, it is possible to retain much of a minority culture within our system, but it requires dedication and sacrifices by many of its members.

With the many problems besetting reservation Indians in the United States, is the great effort and expenditure of human resources needed to retain the tribal culture justified? Most tribal Indians would answer this strongly in the affirmative. They see any other alternative as unthinkable. Others are not so sure, and a few by their actions, have given up all but a token commitment to retaining the old ways. An examination of this significant question is beyond the scope of this book, but tribal college administrators and faculty must re-examine their objective of cultural preservation and transmission in light of the conditions peculiar to their area, tribe, people, and what remains of their tribal culture. If they decide to retain this objective, they must commit the necessary resources and coordinate their efforts with the tribal elders, families, and others who retain knowledge and understanding of the language and other facets of their tribal culture. Navajo Community College and Sinte Gleska College are already doing this by holding programs for the education of aspiring medicine men and, at NCC, preserving ceremonies and religious paraphernalia of their people.

Although it ranks fourth among tribal college objectives, service to the tribe beyond the educational programs is important at nearly all of the tribally controlled schools. This service takes a variety of forms including social and political activities, health services, physical facilities and equipment, and assistance during times of crisis. The most common service provided by tribal college staff and administrators is leadership skills. Nearly all staff members serve as leaders in political, religious, or social organizations. During the 1982 survey, a number of examples were given of how the college staff contributed to the welfare of the tribe and its members. This mutual support strengthens the bond between the college and the tribe. A problem resulting from this outside service by college personnel is that tribal members expect the college staff member to be both an effective educational leader and a leader and role model in their tribal affairs. This conflict of roles and time has been a factor in limiting the effectiveness of tribal college presidents (Isaac, 1980). Administration of an educational institution is more than a full-time job, and the president cannot be effective if he/she is also expected to meet other major responsibilities. Tribal college boards should try to protect their administrators from unreasonable demands that interfere with their primary responsibilities.

A problem noted throughout this study is the lack of accurate data on enrollments of American Indians in higher education. As Astin et al. (1982) indicate, enrollment data consistently overstate the numbers of Indians enrolled in higher education. Students who self-identify as American Indians at the time of their first enrollment are likely to identify themselves in another ethnic category at subsequent enrollments. Urban Indians are more likely to misidentify themselves than are Indians from rural areas (McNamara, 1982). In order to decrease misidentification, it is advisable to limit students to one racial-ethnic category on enrollment forms. For this purpose the term "American Indian" is preferable to "Native American" because the latter is often misinterpreted to mean anyone born in this country (McNamara, 1982). These practices will not completely eliminate misidentification but should reduce it significantly. Studies of Indian higher education that do not control for the significant overstatement of Indian enrollments are of questionable validity. Students who misidentify are different from those who are accurately (consistently) identified as Indians, making conclusions about Indians based on these data invalid.

Some of the significant differences in the rate of enrollment, persistence, and graduation rates between rural and urban Indians indicate that residence rather than ethnicity may be the most significant factor in their educational achievement (McNamara, 1982). This is important for tribal colleges because the majority of their Indian students are from rural areas and are less acculturated than urban Indians. The students at the tribal colleges are predominantly those shown least likely to enroll in and graduate from college. Another possible factor related to success is the type of elementary and secondary schools attended. Indian students who attend federal schools are generally less well pre pared than those who have attended public schools (Peniska & Bailey, 1977). Studies of the achievement

of Indians at tribal colleges as compared to Indians at other higher education institutions must take into consideration that tribal schools are working with some of the least well prepared and least acculturated Indians. Therefore, the educational success or failure of these students must be evaluated in light of their severe educational disadvantages.

Funding has been, and will continue to be, a major obstacle to providing adequate higher education for American Indians, particularly those in isolated rural areas. All of the tribal college administrators interviewed in 1982 rated lack of funding as their major problem. The passage of Public Law 95-471 in 1978 provided a more stable source of funding, but a lack of financial support continues to be the single most pressing problem. The federal budget cutting of the Reagan administration will continue—until at least 1988—to make every federal dollar for Indian higher education a battle. It is evident that President Reagan does not believe the higher education of Indians is a federal responsibility. American Indian leaders and their supporters in Congress must keep alert to fight cuts in appropriations for PL 95-471 and other sources of federal funding in the face of continued opposition from the administration.

Considering the administration's negative stance on funding Indian higher education, the tribes must look for other sources of funding for their colleges. Some state funds may be available, but in most states Indian higher education is viewed as a federal responsibility. Some western tribes have valuable deposits of coal, gas, and/or oil on their reservations. If the intratribal conflicts concerning whether or not to develop these resources can be resolved, it would be possible to earmark the income from these resources for education and other services that benefit a wide range of tribal members. A few tribes may be able to obtain some funding from energy companies that are developing the tribe's energy resources or other enterprises interested in expansion on reservations. Philanthropic groups have been the source of some funding for tribal colleges but most of this assistance is short term. In the long run, sufficient, stable funding for tribally controlled colleges is not bright and appears to be the most likely cause of failure of some of these institutions.

Some of the tribes with tribal colleges may simply not have sufficient resources to support a viable, accredited postsecondary institution. If this is the case, these tribes should consider the possibility of jointly chartering a college with another tribe or tribes in their vicinity. If intertribal animosities can be overcome, two adjacent tribes, such as the Crow and Northern Cheyenne, could combine their resources in the support of one strong, comprehensive college. The objectives of these colleges are quite similar; and if they could adjust to the complication of preserving and transmitting two tribal cultures, this would be a feasible arrangement. This has been worked out at the Fort Peck and Fort Berthold Reservations where two and three tribes, respectively, share the same reservation and tribal college. It would be necessary to assure that accessibility and flexibility of the institution in service to both tribes is maintained. A multi-tribal college could be the solution to the funding problem of postsecondary education for some tribes.

Another topic concerning higher education of Indians is the discussions that have been held for over a decade about the advantages and feasibility of establishing a four-year national Indian university. It has been proposed that such an institution would provide bachelor's and perhaps advanced degrees for Indians from throughout the United States. One proposal has been that Haskell Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas, be expanded to a federal four-year institution. This would enable Indians to attend Haskell for a four-year program or transfer from a tribal college after one or two years. Other sites suggested for an Indian university have been Bacone College, a private school in Muskogee, Oklahoma, or several locations near the large Indian populations of the Southwest.

An important argument for an Indian university is that if it were federally funded it would establish the federal government's commitment to support Indian education beyond the two-year level. Howard Unversity, founded in 1867, for the education of Blacks has made a major contribution to Black higher education. Supporters of an Indian university contend it would do the same for American Indians. If federally funded four-year programs were provided at little cost to Indians, this would provide educated Indians in academic fields needed by many tribes. Cultural preservation could also be an important mission of an Indian university whether it was the cultures of selected tribes or a Pan-Indian culture approach. Such an institution could have a strong influence in developing Pan-Indian leaders as have Carlisle and Haskell in the past. This could serve to develop leaders who would promote the long held dream of unifying the tribes in this country. An immediate issue concerning an Indian university is its locaton. Although the Indian popula-

tion is located mainly in the western part of the United States, it is concentrated in widely separated areas. Wherever the school was located, it would be a great distance from many Indians and would be viewed by them as dominated by the tribes in its vicinity. This issue would need to be resolved to the satisfaction of the majority of the tribes.

Another problem concerns the admission and retention standards of a four-year Indian university. What would be the criteria for admission to such a school? Presently admission to the three BIA supported two-year colleges is limited to persons of at least one-fourth Indian blood. Whether this would be appropriate for a four-year school or whether other criteria such as enrollment in a federally recognized tribe would be required must be decided. The standards for selection and retention would be another issue. If all Indians who met some ethnic criteria were admitted and high grading standards were not maintained, the status of the school and its programs would be low. It would be seen as a diploma mill for Indians, and its graduates would be judged as inferior. On the other hand, if it were highly selective in admissions and maintained high standards for graduation, it would not serve many of the poorly prepared tribal Indians from the western United States. A compromise must be reached in this difficult issue.

A basic question concerning the establishment of a four-year Indian university is whether Indian college students are better off attending an all-Indian school or a predominantly non-Indian institution for their bachelor's degree. The argument for an integrated institution is that Indians must eventually learn to compete with non-Indians, and a four-year all Indian school will delay their development and eventual success in the dominant culture. There is evidence that Blacks have higher interpersonal self esteem when they attend an integrated institution as compared to a predominantly Black school (Astin, 1977). It is possible that this may also be true of Indians. The effects of attending a predominantly Indian institution of higher learning on future achievement and success is not known. A comprehensive, national study of the higher education needs and achievement of American Indians should be conducted before any decisions are made concerning a four-year college for Indians. The writer believes the present evidence and conditions do not warrant the expense and effort needed to promote, establish, and maintain such an institution. Other well documented Indian educational needs, specifically support of the tribal colleges, should be given priority. Perhaps the discussion of an Indian university is currently a moot question because the only feasible source of funding for such an institution is the federal government, and the administration in the mid-1980s is not going to support such an appropriation.

A closely related concern is the future of the three existing Bureau of Indian Affairs supported two-year colleges. The history of these schools and their status as of the mid-1980s is included in Chapter 4. Haskell Indian Junior College, Lawrence, Kansas, has a long tradition of federally funded Indian education. Its students come from throughout the country. In spite of some competition for students from the tribally controlled colleges, Haskell has maintained an adequate enrollment. The college has a reputation for good education, particularly among older Indians, some of whom attended Haskell as a secondary boarding school. However, within the non-Indian education establishment, it is viewed as a second rate school with poorly prepared students and low standards. In fact, Haskell does not attract many of the brightest Indian students because they are offered scholarships at more prestigious colleges and universities. With the development of the tribal community colleges and the increased Indian enrollments at non-Indian two-year schools, over one-half of all Indian students are in two-year colleges (Astin, 1982). Other than serving to develop a Pan-Indian view and leadership among its students, the continuance of Haskell as it exists today seems questionable. If it serves a unique purpose in Indian postsecondary education, it should be preserved; if not, the appropriations should be moved to a more necessary form of Indian education. If an Indian four-year university is eventually established, Haskell would be a possible site for such an institution.

The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico, has a unique mission in the development of Indian artists. No other school provides the high quality of specialization of this school. In addition to its unique educational programs, it also provides opportunities for established Indian artists to serve as teachers and mentors to aspiring Indian artists. Because it has been successful in its unique mission, the writer believes IAIA should be preserved and expanded to serve more Indian artists.

The third BIA postsecondary school, Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI) in Albuquerque, New Mexico, has been reported to be closing

several times in its short history. The main objection has been that it is too costly and that Indians could obtain similar vocational and technical training at lower cost at other schools in the area. In 1983, SIPI enrollment experienced an increase, and it received another reprieve. If the school can continue to enroll sufficient Indian students and show that it serves a special population with programs that meet the vocational needs of Indians, it should be continued. If not, there is little justification for funding such a relatively expensive institution. If it is closed, Indian students could be given financial aid to attend other vocational schools in the area.

Another proposal for Indian higher education has been the establishment of an Indian medical school. The main rationale for such an institution is that its curriculum would combine modern western medicine with traditional Indian healing ceremonies and folk medicine to better serve traditional Indians. This is an intriguing concept, but the economic realities make it impossible. Considering that some entire states cannot support a separate medical school, it seems inconceivable that the federal government would fund a medical school for Indians. With medical school applicants decreasing and a predicted over supply of physicians in the near future, there is little hope that non-Indian federal administrators or legislators would support such a school. Programs to encourage and support Indians in pre-medical and medical studies such as the INMED program at the University of North Dakota should be expanded to help meet the need for more Indians in all fields of medicine.

Two tribally controlled colleges have initiated baccalaureate degrees and several others are considering such programs. Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska College have been accredited to offer four-year degrees, and Navajo Community College is considering such a move. These programs have merit in providing accessible, flexible, inexpensive bachelor's degrees to Indians in their vicinity. However, there are some serious questions about such degrees. A college that can provide good vocational or two-year general programs may not have the staff, curricular offerings, library, and other resources to support a good four-year program. Unless such schools can rely on the resources of a nearby four-year institution, their graduates may not receive an adequate education, and their degree will lack the value of many other schools. As previously stated, it is necessary for Indian students to prove to themselves that they can compete academically with non-Indians in order to develop academic self-esteem and eventually attain their full potential. This is true of other students who attend college at a school where the student body is composed of a homogeneous group of minority persons. Unless an Indian student is going to spend his/her entire career on a reservation, he or she will need the experience and confidence gained at an integrated college or university. Most administrators at tribal colleges will probably disagree with this view, but the evidence on the higher education of other minority groups supports this. Future research may show Indians are different, but what is known at this time indicates that after they develop their basic educational skills, minority students benefit from attending an integrated institution.

The non-federal and non-tribally controlled colleges which have large proportions of Indian students and programs emphasizing the educational needs of these students have dwindled to three as of the 1980s. Two of them—College of Ganado and D-Q University became tribally controlled. College of Ganado closed in 1986. The three remaining are Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska; Bacone College, Muskogee, Oklahoma; and Flaming Rainbow University, Tahlequah, Oklahoma. These three schools enrolled a total of only 405 Indian and Alaska Native students in 1982 (see Table 9). In spite of hard work by the staffs of these colleges to provide for the needs of their Indian students, their Indian enrollments continue to decrease. This trend is a result of several factors including competition for Indian students from tribally controlled colleges and more prestigious private and state schools and the three BIA funded two-year colleges. Flaming Rainbow, a four-year institution, continues to have funding problems and lacks the support of some of the major tribes in its area. This school has not developed the strength or status to compete with other four-year institutions serving Indians.

Bacone's Indian enrollments have decreased, and as of 1982 the administration was undecided as to what course to take. Consideration has been given to becoming a four-year Indian university; but unless it is able to receive public funding, it would not be feasible to develop such an institution. Bacone has experienced the fate of other small private schools during the past decade with rising costs and declining enrollments. It has served American Indians well for over one hundred years and has faced and overcome adversity in the past.

Sheldon Jackson College, serving primarily Alaska's Native people, is also struggling to survive. In the latter years of the 1980s this unique institution

was still having financial problems but was continuing its long history of making a major contribution to the higher education of Alaska's native peoples.

The growth of tribal colleges and the increased support for Indian education have lessened the need for these three colleges in serving Indians and Alaska Natives. Their continued existence is dependent upon them making major changes in their funding and roles.

As reported in this study, in spite of the inflated figures, there is evidence that enrollments of American Indians in higher education increased substantially from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, but since that time they have remained stable (Astin, 1982). What are the reasons for this change after several decades of slow, but steady, progress? No single factor is responsible; several related factors have contributed to this trend:

1. The national economic recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s adversely affected Indians and other poor Americans more than it did persons of higher economic levels making them even less able to afford a higher education.
2. The Reagan administration has not enforced affirmative action and equal opportunity laws as vigorously as did previous administrations. Thus schools and colleges have not felt the pressure to seek out Indians and other minorities for their student bodies and staff.
3. Federal support of higher education has not had the priority of previous federal administrations. The attempts to balance the federal budget have slowed the development of tribal colleges and programs for Indians at other postsecondary institutions.
4. The national rise in unemployment and especially the over supply in some professions have made college degrees no longer a ticket to a good job. Young Indians and other minority persons do not see the time and effort needed to obtain a college education warranted if it does not guarantee a good job. The unemployment among whites has also led to an increased backlash against the preferred admissions and hiring of minorities.

In spite of the many improvements in Indian higher education discussed in this study, there remains in the late-1980s a serious lack of college educated Indians in all professions, particularly social services, medicine, law, and education. These shortages cause not only a lack of professional services to tribal Indians but provides few professional role models for young Indians. Many young Indians, particularly those on western reservations, have never seen an Indian physician and believe all doctors are white. Unfortunately, some of the few existing Indian professionals have moved into the dominant non-Indian society and, therefore, are not available to serve or be role models for their people. Much of this is the result of the lack of opportunity for professionals to make a decent living on reservations or in isolated Indian communities. The growth of the tribal colleges and the development of services on reservations should help to alleviate this problem by providing more opportunities for educated Indians.

Finally, it is evident from this study that the Indians who are most likely to enter and succeed at all levels of higher education are those who are most similar to whites in economic level, educational background, values, place of residence, and other predictors of educational achievement. Higher education is designed to best serve white students of high ability. This is true not only of predominantly white institutions but, to a lesser degree, even at the tribally controlled colleges. This is true because higher education is a modern American institution designed to prepare one for success in the dominant white culture.

In light of the above, can an Indian retain his/her traditional tribal culture and also be successful in higher education and the dominant non-Indian society? Numerous examples in our country provide ample evidence that this can be done. It requires much more commitment and effort than is necessary if one chooses one culture, but it has its rewards. Bicultural Indians must spend the time and effort to learn two sets of values, languages, behaviors and learn how to reconcile the incongruities between them. Children who are raised in a bicultural setting learn and adjust to this more easily than adults who are raised in one culture and must learn the other after they mature. Bicultural persons will experience some discrimination from both white and Indian persons. Some traditional Indians will resent their white ways, and some whites will be prejudiced toward their Indian ways and beliefs. Communities of bicultural Indians exist throughout the country. They assist each other in retaining their Indian culture and in overcoming the problems of living in two cultures.

There are also unfortunate individuals who are caught between the two cultures and not comfortable in either, demonstrating the potential pitfalls of bicultural existence. The self-misidentification of a number of Indian college students may result from

an uncertainty of whether they are predominantly Indian or white. Indians who have grown up in a rural environment are less likely to misidentify because of their more traditional tribal background. The college years are a time of identity crisis for all students—Indian and non-Indian. This period may have a special significance for the young mixed blood Indians who are struggling to establish their ethnic identity. One goal of higher education should be to encourage the young Indian to establish his identity and, if he desires to be a bicultural person, to learn and choose the best of both worlds. Indian students can benefit from a support group of other Indian students, faculty, and staff who can serve as role models and strive for the goal of bicultural development. Such groups can set goals of assistance in education, social, financial, and cultural areas that make it easier for Indians to establish a strong bicultural identity. At institutions where there are few Indian students or faculty, non-Indians who are willing and able to learn the special needs and conditions of students from other cultures can be of help with educational, financial, and personal problems (Oppelt, 1989).

Whether or not higher education is willing and able to accommodate these cultural differences will determine not only the future existence of educated tribal Indians; it will also establish the viability of a pluralistic society in our country. If we continue to operate colleges that ignore or exclude the tribal culture of American Indians and those who strive for a bicultural identity, we will have chosen to return to the old melting pot concept. American Indians are not only our only true native persons, their culture, if exterminated here, is gone forever. They cannot return to the old country on another continent to revive the old ways as can many of us. The way we treat the American Indians in higher education and the society at large is indicative of our faith in our ideal of a democratic society that is acceptant of cultural diversity. This country has been built on the premise that we benefit from accepting peoples from many different cultures. The vitality of this country comes primarily from infusions of immigrants from other lands. Can we also allow the only original Americans to live in their traditional ways while fully participating in the larger society? The establishment of the tribally controlled colleges is an indication that the American Indian can finally participate in self determination which enables him to prepare for reaching his potential as a truly bicultural person.

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his book is a well researched history on American Indian higher education from the seventeenth century through the present time and it describes why and how early education efforts failed tribal groups. Out of these first efforts, and two centuries later, the tribally controlled Indian college movement began. Oppelt looks at each Indian controlled college that has been established since the early 1960s and gives some perspective on each one's educational philosophy, history, and status as they each exist today.

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